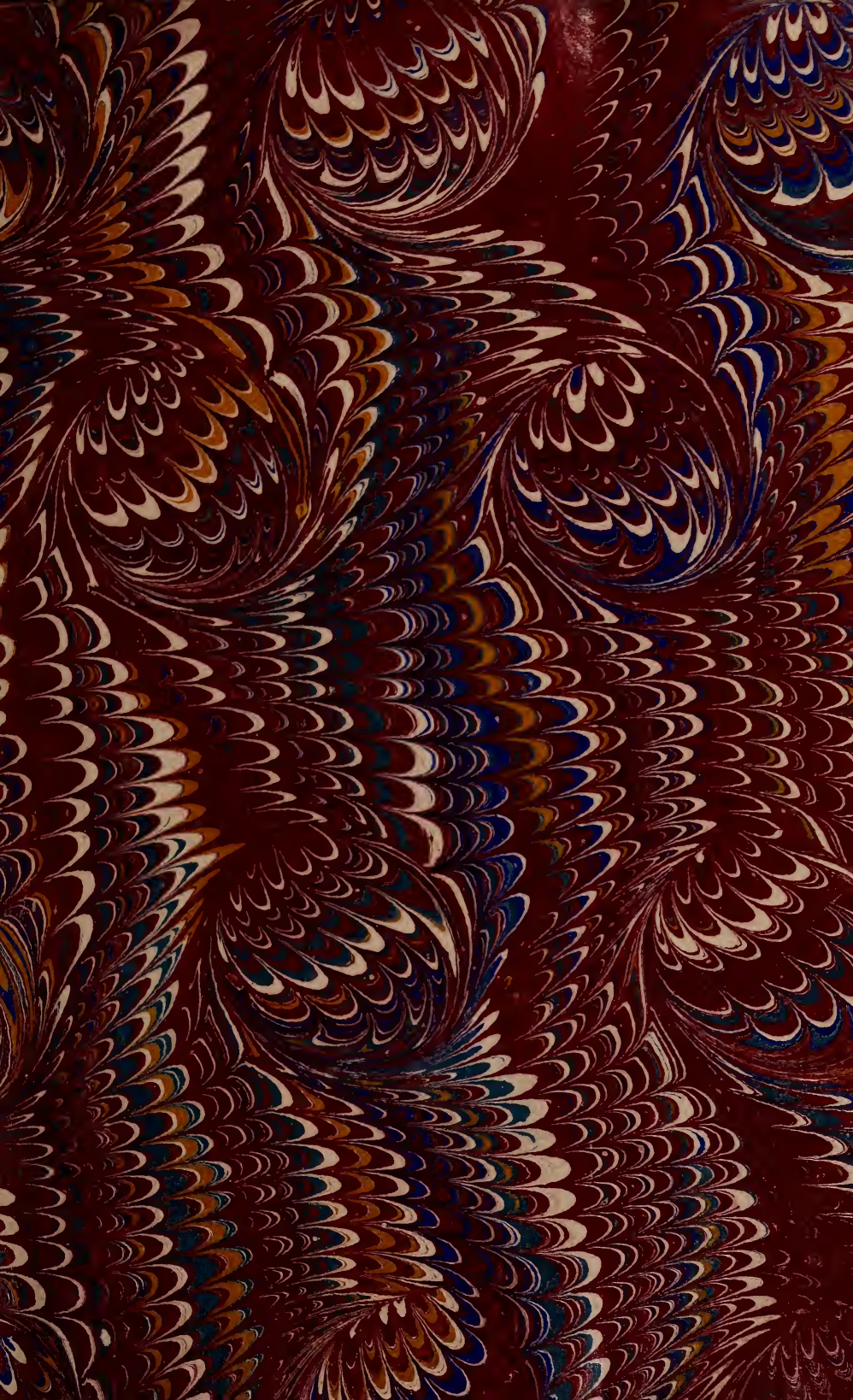


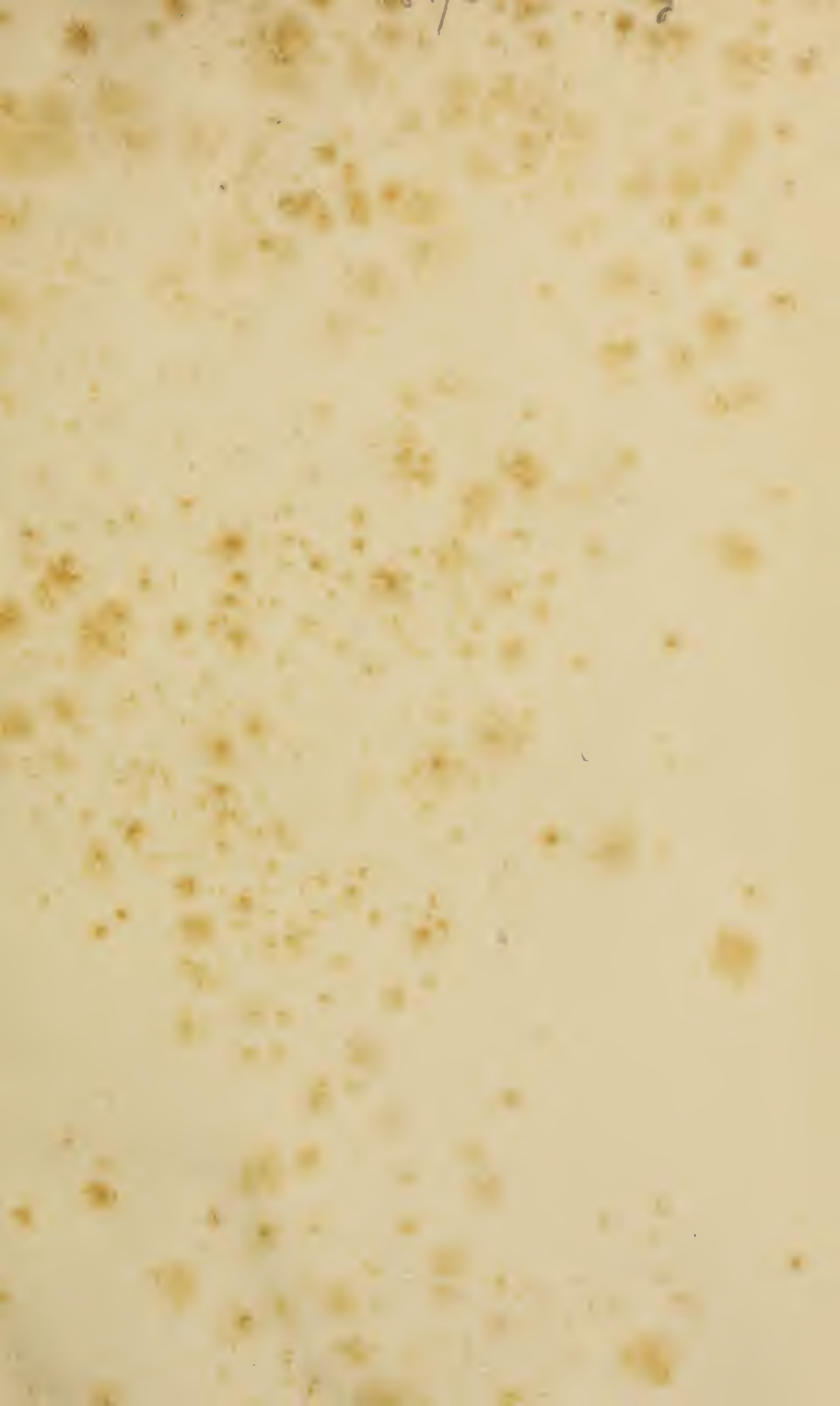


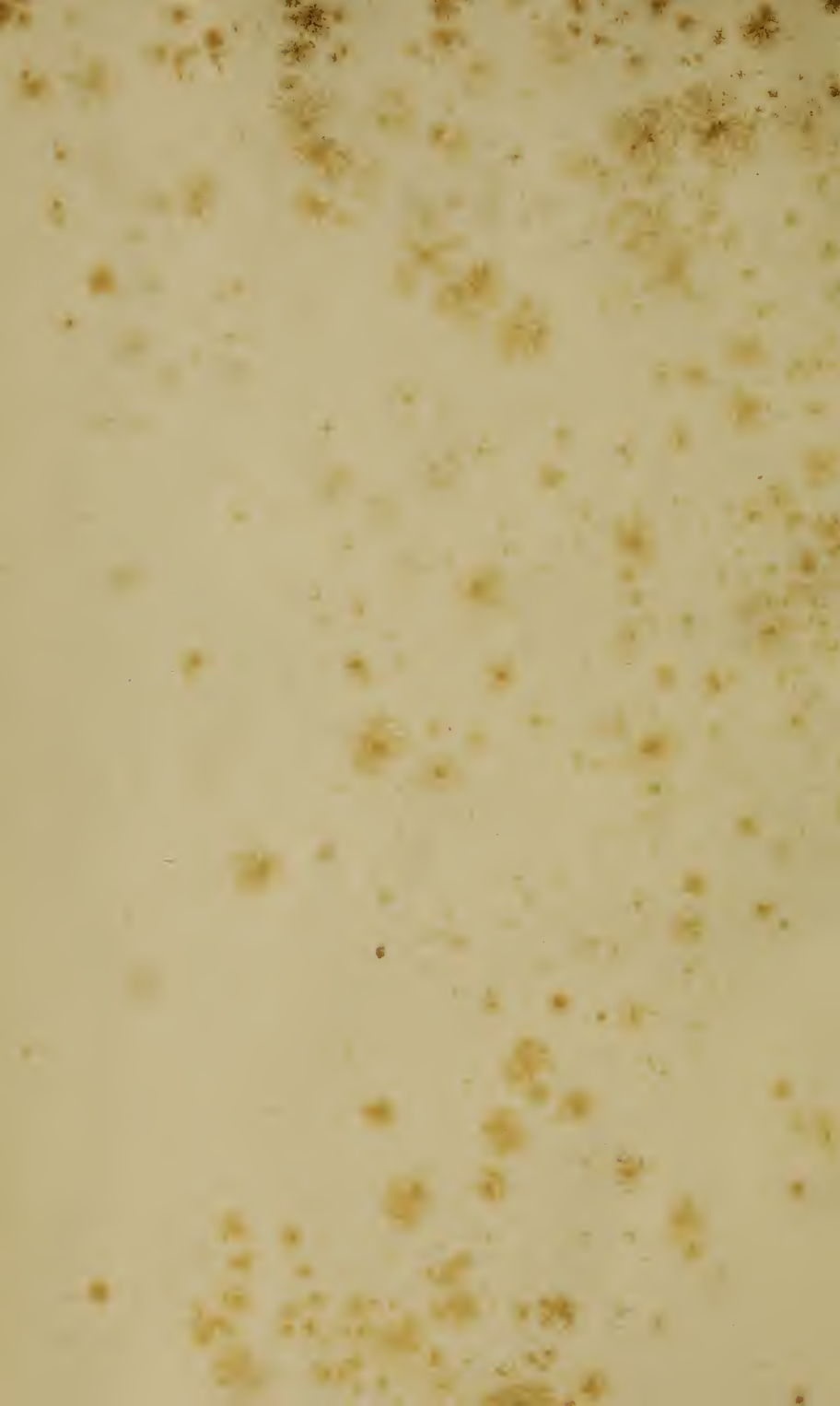
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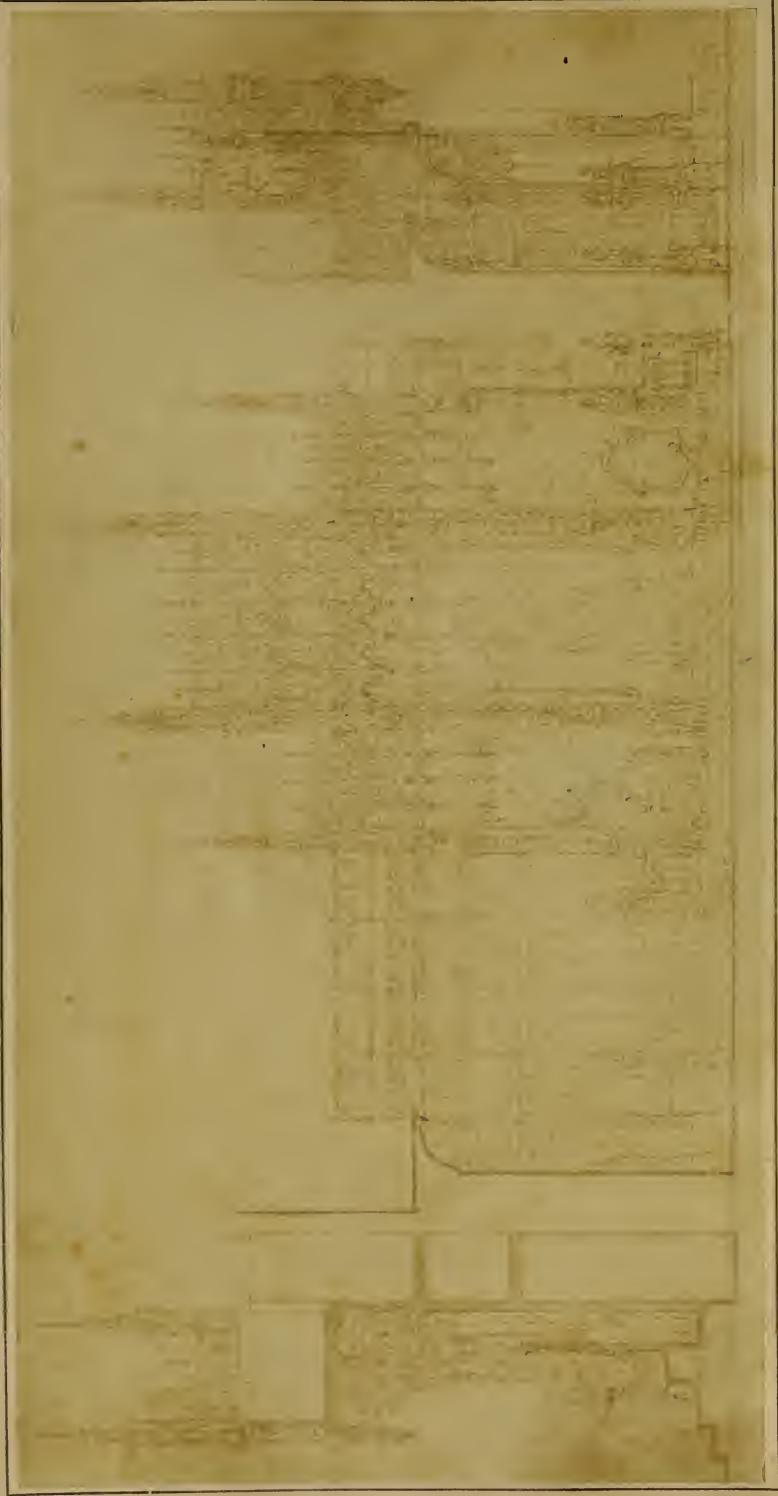
James O. Byrne.











THRONE, HOUSE OF LORDS.

This Photograph is from Sir C. Barry's drawing, see p. 41. The drawing shows other internal fittings of the House of Lords, and is defaced and dirty ; having been used for several years at the Thames Bank workshops. It has consequently been difficult to obtain a clear photograph from it. It suffices, however, to show how completely Sir C. Barry's designs prescribed the limits within which Mr. Pugin's assistance was rendered, even as regards the special arrangement of detail entrusted to him.

THE ARCHITECT

OF THE

NEW PALACE AT WESTMINSTER.

A REPLY TO A PAMPHLET

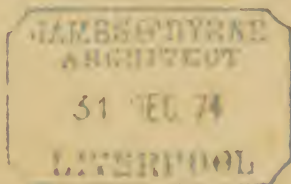
BY E. W. PUGIN, ESQ.,

ENTITLED

“WHO WAS THE ART-ARCHITECT OF THE
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT?”

By ALFRED BARRY, D.D.,

PRINCIPAL OF CHELTENHAM COLLEGE.



LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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THE ARCHITECT

OF THE

NEW PALACE AT WESTMINSTER.

THERE are two reasons, which might seem to make it almost needless to reply to Mr. E. W. Pugin's pamphlet, and its attack on my father's character as an artist and as a man.

The first is, the extraordinary lapse of time since the events on which this attack is based, and the unaccountable silence observed by Mr. E. W. Pugin during my father's lifetime, and for more than seven years after his death. The competition drawings, in respect of which he first advances a claim for his father, were made *more than thirty-two years ago* ; Mr. A. W. Pugin himself *has now been dead fifteen years*, and Sir C. Barry *more than seven years*. During the whole of this time no syllable has been heard of this extraordinary claim. On one occasion, in 1845, when some question did arise (from causes to be hereafter mentioned), it was set at rest by the public and emphatic denial of Mr. A. W. Pugin himself. At another, in 1858, a paper was read before the Institute of British Architects by my brother, Mr. E. M. Barry, elaborately describing the New Palace at Westminster, and containing an emphatic testimony (given with Sir C. Barry's full knowledge and concurrence) to the valuable aid received from Mr. A. W. Pugin, as an assistant in the work. This paper was read in the presence of many friends of the late Mr. Pugin, it was printed in the 'Transactions' of the Institute, and must have been known to Mr. E. W. Pugin himself as a member of that body ; but no word was uttered

to question the originality of Sir C. Barry's designs, or deny the subordinate position publicly assigned to Mr. A. W. Pugin. After my father's death in 1862, notices appeared in all the newspapers, commenting upon his works, and especially on the New Palace at Westminster; and an eloquent and interesting 'Memoir' was read by Mr. Digby Wyatt before the Institute, referring to these works in greater detail. No question of authorship or originality was raised by any one; whether for praise or for blame, the New Palace was acknowledged by all as Sir C. Barry's work. Now, suddenly, seven years after my father's death, this claim is put forward at a time when it is convenient for Mr. E. W. Pugin to attack the designs for the New Law Courts, in the competition for which he had not been included. In close connexion with it there is also an attempt on his part to obtain a *locus standi* for a design of his own for the remodelling of the House of Commons, embodied in a letter to the 'Times' of September 18th, 1867, and reprinted in his pamphlet, though not having the slightest bearing on the controversy. These facts alone would, in the minds of most practical and thinking men, dispense Sir C. Barry's representatives from the necessity of any detailed reply.

The second reason is found in the fact, that, almost from the first origination of the claim, we have offered to meet Mr. E. W. Pugin's assertions and evidence, if he will bring them before a competent and impartial tribunal. Every one must be aware that newspaper controversy, or an interchange of pamphlets, may elicit truth well enough in an abstract discussion of principles, or in a contest which depends upon established and well-sifted evidence. But when, as in this case, documents are referred to which need to be verified and attested, when witnesses are produced, the value of whose witness is unknown until their means of knowledge have been ascertained, it is absurd to think that any satisfactory result can be obtained, except before some tribunal which shall be capable of sifting and examining the evidence on both sides. Now (not to mention a suggestion of Mr. Wolfe's in the

‘Pall Mall Gazette’ of August 27th, 1867) this course has been urged on Mr. E. Pugin in the columns of the ‘Times,’ first by my brother, Mr. E. M. Barry, on September 9th, next by my brother Mr. Charles Barry, on September 10th, and lastly, by myself on September 22nd, 1867. It is obvious that the initiative in it must lie with Mr. E. Pugin himself. We stand upon rights, long established and allowed on all hands; we are ready to defend them, but only when we know what the accusation is. It is idle, therefore, to assert, as Mr. E. W. Pugin does on the cover of his pamphlet, that he has made the offer of doing so, and that offer has been neglected. It was for him to commence operations; for the condition made in a letter of his to the ‘Times’ of Sept. 25th, 1867, that “both parties should deposit their statements simultaneously” is, on the face of it, simply absurd. We, on our part, have been ready, *and are ready still, to meet any charge which he will bring before the Council of the Institute of British Architects.* But from this course he shrinks; and the fact that he does so shrink will again, in the eyes of all impartial judges, settle practically the merits of the case.

Besides these reasons, which might seem to render controversy needless, there is another which makes us reluctant to enter into it. We cannot forget that Mr. E. W. Pugin’s pamphlet is only the conclusion of a number of letters, addressed by him to various newspapers, and, in fact, contains very little which has not been expressed in them. His plan has not been to carry on the war in one newspaper only,* or, until now, in one pamphlet embodying his whole case, still less to approach any official tribunal. Had he done so, the matter would long ago have been set at rest. But his warfare has been carried on in one paper after another; sometimes in several papers simultaneously. The ‘Pall Mall Gazette,’ after allowing him to state his whole case,

* Even now I observe that a second issue of his pamphlet has taken place, containing a number of newspaper letters, &c., which might just as well have been printed at first, if they were worth printing at all.

sums up against him. He suddenly breaks ground in a letter of two columns and a half in the 'Times.' That paper, in a leading article of the same day, without even waiting for any answer on our part, sums up practically in the same direction; and, after admitting letters on both sides, finally closes its columns with a letter of mine challenging a reference, and a quasi-acceptance of that challenge by Mr. E. W. Pugin. But our assailant then emerges to light, or rather (I believe) reappears, in the columns of the 'Building News;' and in the course of the proceedings has, I understand, shown himself in the 'Tablet,' the 'Westminster Gazette,' the 'Sun,' the 'Globe,' the 'Standard,' and, possibly, in other papers also, evidently hoping that Sir C. Barry's representatives would, through ignorance or weariness, fail to notice some of his statements, and that he might be able to refer to them as unquestioned. Now this course is clearly the one best calculated to excite odium against Sir C. Barry and to gain notoriety, but it is as clearly the worst of all methods for eliciting truth. It is natural to shrink from a controversy conducted by such a method and on such principles.

Accordingly, in preparing for the press the 'Memoir of Sir C. Barry,' published before Mr. E. W. Pugin's pamphlet appeared, I thought it unnecessary to take in it any notice of his previous assertions. I believe that the account there given contains the essential truth, which will remain established when these extraordinary charges are disposed of.

But it is evidently necessary that the pamphlet should not be entirely passed by, lest it should be thought to be "unanswered, because unanswerable." The question is not by any means one affecting my father alone. Every architect, in conducting works on a great scale, must necessarily avail himself of assistance in detail. It is one secret of the freshness and vigour of mediæval work, that this practice was extensively and liberally adopted, and at the present time, it must necessarily exist, and increase with the growth of knowledge and spirit in Gothic architecture. To make the employment of an able and distinguished subordinate

a ground for detracting from the originality of his principal, is to do an injury to the profession generally, and to check the progress of art.

It has therefore devolved upon me to refer to Mr. E. W. Pugin's assertions in these pages. I shall, however, confine myself to the leading lines of the case, and decline to follow him into the irrelevant matters, which he has introduced. The real question is of fact, and of distinct evidence testifying to that fact. To this, and to this only, shall I address myself. In doing so I must speak plainly as to his evidences and his use of them, and must bring out some unwelcome truths. But I shall not allow my natural indignation at a charge, which to those who knew my father must appear almost ludicrous, to prevent my speaking of Mr. E. Pugin more temperately than he has spoken of those who venture to oppose him, or to interfere with the respect, in which I have always held his father's memory.

Mr. E. W. Pugin's attack consists of a sweeping assertion that, both in the original and the subsequent designs for the New Palace at Westminster, the late Mr. A. W. Pugin was the "Art-Architect"* of the New Palace at Westminster, my father only inventing the plan, and retaining the power of accepting or refusing the designs made for him. It will be observed that it amounts practically to the imputation of a systematic fraud on the public, primarily to Sir C. Barry, but (I must add) secondarily to the late Mr. Pugin himself, whose moral character is herein sacrificed by his own son, in order to raise an artistic reputation, which hardly needs any increase.

Putting aside all irrelevant matter, this assertion divides itself into two main parts, the first relating to the competition drawings of 1835, and the second to the assistance subsequently rendered to Sir C. Barry after his appointment

* I leave it to architects and architectural critics to determine how far such a division of the architect's work is possible—how far its two elements, which are certainly capable of being distinguished, can be actually separated without the certainty of conflict and eventual failure.

as Architect of the New Palace at Westminster in carrying out his designs.

On each of these I propose, first to give Mr. E. W. Pugin's statement, next to examine the evidence on which he bases it, and thirdly to adduce *positive evidence distinctly contradicting it and establishing the true facts of the case.*

A few subsidiary matters may be with advantage treated in an appendix.

(A) THE COMPETITION DESIGNS FOR THE NEW PALACE AT WESTMINSTER.

The statement of Mr. E. W. Pugin on this subject was originally made in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of August 13th and August 27th, 1867, repeated in the 'Times' on September 7th, 1867, and finally reiterated in his recent pamphlet. The original statement ran as follows:—

In 1835 "my father made for Sir C. Barry the designs, "which obtained the competition" (*sic*). "He had previously been engaged in preparing designs for the same competition for Mr. Gillespie Graham, for which he received "300 guineas, and he did not accede to Sir C. Barry's application till he had obtained Mr. Gillespie Graham's consent. "In order that my father's touch might not be detected in "two separate sets of drawings, many of the designs were "re-drawn in pencil by Sir Charles, *as Mr. Talbot Bury can testify.* For these designs, which included the whole of the "elevations and sections, together with some of the views, "my father received 400 guineas."

In his pamphlet he says, "I maintain that he actually "originated and designed the whole of the elevations of the "Palace—that he made the sections and working drawings "for every portion of the building, and that generally every "detail, both externally and internally, was his work."

(I.) It will be observed that in his original letter he relies on the testimony of Mr. Talbot Bury, an old and intimate

friend of his father, and a gentleman of established reputation. It is almost incredible that he should have ventured to do so, knowing what evidence Mr. Bury was prepared to give, and actually did give, in the following letters, addressed to the 'Pall Mall Gazette' and the 'Times.'

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'PALL MALL GAZETTE.'

"SIR,—Having been out of London for some time, I have only now seen a letter of Mr. E. Welby Pugin's, which appeared in your paper of the 15th inst., in which my name is brought forward as unexpectedly as, I think, unfairly.

"Mr. E. Welby Pugin says:—'In order that my father's touch should not be detected in two separate sets of drawings, many of the designs were re-drawn in pencil by Sir Charles, as Mr. Talbot Bury can testify.' If that has reference to Sir Charles's original design for the Houses of Parliament, I must give it a most positive denial. At that time I was in constant and intimate communication with Mr. Pugin; I had been assisting him in the preparation of Mr. Gillespie Graham's drawings, which were completed before Mr. Pugin touched any drawings for Mr. Barry. Mr. Pugin was staying at my house when he *first* went to see Mr. Barry on the subject of the Houses of Parliament drawings, and on his return he told me that he had seen 'a very remarkable design, the plan being most ingenious and comprehensive, and the elevations treated in a very original and effective manner;' he added 'that Mr. Barry had sought to give an Italian outline to Gothic details, and, though he should probably not have treated the composition in that manner, the general effect would make a noble work, and he anticipated a decision in Mr. Barry's favour.'

"It was not until Sir Charles Barry had completed his design in pencil, including elevations and sections, that Mr. Pugin had anything to do with his work. Sir Charles had been engaged on his design, while Mr. Pugin was working on Mr. Graham's drawings, and the assistance he subsequently rendered was undoubtedly confined to details extending very much over the whole building. The drawings enumerated in Mr. Pugin's diary were details, prepared for the purpose of obtaining tenders, not made till after Sir Charles's original design had been selected.

"I can most positively deny the statement that the letter

which Mr. E. W. Pugin says was written at the 'solicitation of 'Sir Charles Barry,' was written under any kind of pressure. Mr. Pugin was constantly at my house when he was in London, and he told me distinctly that 'the public letter he wrote to 'the "Builder" ' was simply an act of justice on his part, to remove an unfair and false statement which gave him credit for 'a design made by another.'

"When Mr. Pugin at a later period was appointed to take charge of the wood-carving works, I frequently called upon him at Millbank, and he has on those occasions shown me large detail drawings prepared by Sir Charles Barry himself, which he was engaged to see properly executed. I remember very distinctly seeing the drawings for the Throne, and fittings for the House of Lords, and those for the Speaker and the House of Commons. With respect to the statement that Mr. Pugin was unwilling to enter into the competition on the ground of his being a Roman Catholic, I know it to be most incorrect, as Mr. Pugin himself told me that 'he thought it much wiser to 'make sure of the amounts offered to him by Mr. Graham and 'Sir Charles Barry, rather than risk the loss of his own time 'and money in so large and uncertain a competition.'

"Nothing but a sense of what is due to the memory of two great men could have induced me to enter into a correspondence on this subject. I believe it is as unfair to Mr. Pugin's memory to lay claim to merit, which he himself in a voluntary and honourable spirit had repudiated, as it is to Sir Charles Barry's memory to seek to disparage the power and ability which he most undoubtedly and undividedly brought to bear on this great work.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"TALBOT BURY.

"50, Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, August 19, 1867."

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'TIMES.'

"SIR,—In Mr. E. Pugin's assertions respecting the Houses of Parliament, published in the 'Times' of the 7th inst., he has thought fit to introduce my name; and as, in justice to myself as well as to other parties, an explanation is required, I trust you will allow me the advantage of a little of your valuable space for that purpose, more particularly after the lengthy statement he has been permitted to make in your columns.

"Mr. E. Pugin observes that 'my statements have been simply

‘met with counter-statements, for to say that the contradictory and partial assertions of Messrs. Talbot Bury, Wolfe, &c., in any way prove themselves or each other, is mere folly.’ He also states:—‘The evidence they give of Sir Charles Barry’s competition drawings being in pencil is correct. My father’s competition drawings were also in pencil; and this gives great probability to Mr. Talbot Bury’s revelation made to me on the 11th of August last, that “many of my father’s designs were “re-drawn by Barry, so that the same touch should not be detected in his and in Mr. Gillespie Graham’s designs.”’ Now, this statement of a ‘revelation,’ on which some stress might be laid by those uninformed of facts, is positively and altogether untrue, as on the evening to which he refers, when he was in my house for a half-hour, I clearly stated that ‘my old friend, his father, had never worked on Mr. Barry’s competition drawings,* but he assisted him in the details of the internal finishings of the rooms;’ so this is a wilful misstatement to which my name has been added. The assertion that the competition drawings of Mr. G. Graham and Sir Charles Barry were ‘finished in pencil’ evinces his utter ignorance of facts (certainly Mr. E. P. was not one year old when this took place); and is likewise untrue, and without any foundation, as I worked with A. W. Pugin on the designs for Mr. G. Graham, having made the plans and sections, and I affirm that they were made in Indian ink. I saw Sir Charles Barry’s drawings at the same time, and they were finished in light Indian ink, in a style peculiar to himself. I must here observe that no one saw the set of designs we were engaged on for Mr. G. Graham, but ourselves; so that Mr. E. Pugin cannot plead that he has been misinformed on the subject.

“What Sir Charles Barry’s designs for Trentham (a mansion erected for the late Duke of Sutherland) had to do with the Houses of Parliament is a question too difficult for me to make out; I cannot see any similarity between them as regards their purposes, and most assuredly there is none in their respective styles of art. Among other statements made by Mr. E. Pugin is, that his father had an ‘idea of competing for the Houses of

* I see that Mr. E. Pugin comments on these words, which, separated from what I have said elsewhere, might be misunderstood. I meant, of course, on the competition *designs* as such; as, in fact, I said in my previous letter—“It was not until Sir C. Barry had completed his design in pencil, including “elevations and sections, that Mr. Pugin had anything to do with his work.”

‘Parliament;’ that is without foundation, as he stated to me ‘he thought it much wiser to make sure of the amounts offered to him by Mr. G. Graham and Sir Charles Barry, rather than risk the loss of his own time and money in so large and uncertain a competition.’

“Mr. E. Pugin asserts, likewise, that his father made a set of designs and drawings for the Houses of Parliament before those made for Mr. G. Graham were commenced, and that ‘these competition drawings were lost sight of from the day they were mounted,’ and ‘they were the designs for which Sir Charles Barry paid 400 guineas,’ and ‘were subsequently engrafted on Sir Charles Barry’s ground plan.’ This statement, from first to last, is an invention, and untrue, as A. W. Pugin did not make any plan or design for this building until I went to his house at Salisbury to assist him in Mr. G. Graham’s set of drawings. He then put his first ideas on paper respecting it, and I worked them out. He had no notion of the design Sir Charles Barry had in hand. In the design on which we were engaged A. W. Pugin confined his plan of the building to the limits of the existing ground, whereas Sir Charles Barry’s encroached a long way into the river, thereby gaining a great additional space and area. This great and essential difference in the designs is conclusive evidence of their being the work of two minds. A. W. Pugin was staying at my house (after Mr. G. Graham’s drawings were completed) when he first went to see Mr. Barry’s plans and designs for the Houses of Parliament, and on his return he spoke to me of them, and communicated to me, in very laudatory terms, the mode Mr. Barry had adopted to gain the necessary space for the buildings, which he stated he had overlooked; he likewise gave me a description of the elevations and general peculiarities of the design. This confutes the preposterous assertions made by Mr. E. Pugin as to the originator of the executed designs, and put to silence the false statement that there was another design for the Houses of Parliament which has ‘been lost sight of,’ &c., and was used by Sir Charles Barry.

“Mr. E. Pugin states: ‘Another entry shows that my father was engaged on “sections;” will my opponents inform me whether “compositions, compartments, and sections” mean only details? and will Mr. Talbot Bury, who is so in earnest in describing these and other drawings merely as “drawings for tenders,” reconcile this absurd depreciation with the fact that “drawings for tenders” means working drawings, &c.?’

"In reply to these observations, which the public generally cannot understand, and care nothing about, I have only to state that as A. W. Pugin was my most intimate friend, we were frequently at each other's houses, and that I knew all the work he did for the Houses of Parliament from first to last, and I can affirm that he never laid any claim to the design for that building; his public repudiation of it, written under no pressure (the fair copy of which was written at my house), he said, was nothing but 'an act of justice to Sir Charles Barry,' and I am now only defending the character of my friend in vindicating him from a charge of falsehood, which would be the case if his public statement was at variance with that made to his friends generally. In that document he states clearly 'that I am engaged by him (Mr. Barry), and him alone, to assist in preparing working drawings and models from his designs of all the wood-carvings and other details of the internal decorations,' and 'in fulfilling the duties of my office I do not do anything whatever on my own responsibility,' and, 'in fine, my occupation is simply to assist in carrying out practically Mr. Barry's own designs and views in all respects.' These quotations from Mr. A. W. Pugin's letter to the editor of the 'Builder,' September 3, 1845, confirm positively my assertions, and I am surprised Mr. E. Pugin can, in the face of his father's published assertions, make statements which, if correct, must disgrace his father's memory. Mr. A. W. Pugin had fairly earned enough laurels of his own, and his mind was of too high an order to wear honours to which he had no claim.

"Two men, great in architecture and in art, have passed away, who in life enjoyed each other's friendship. Peace be to their memories! and whatever may be the merits of the Houses of Parliament, the great work which Sir Charles Barry has alone designed, he had the wisdom to appreciate the talents and to enlist for certain parts of it the services of Mr. A. W. Pugin, who was happy in working with one who was so intimately his friend, and to whose opinion on matters of art he paid such deference, and for whom he had the greatest respect.

"Your obedient servant.

"TALBOT BURY.

"50, *Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, Sept. 14, 1867.*

"P.S.—Absence from town has prevented my sending an earlier reply to Mr. E. Pugin's letter."

These letters are so important, that I give them *in extenso*, although they anticipate matters to which I shall refer afterwards. It must be, moreover, observed (for no reader of our opponent's pamphlet would infer it) that Mr. Talbot Bury was actually *Mr. E. W. Pugin's own witness*, an intimate friend and cordial admirer of his father, who would not willingly have said a word to compromise, even in the slightest degree, the name of Pugin. It would be difficult for any witness to contradict more completely the statement, which he was called upon to prove, and Mr. E. Pugin accordingly has no resource except to depreciate and to abuse him.

(II.) In his letter to the 'Times,' another scrap of so-called evidence is produced from a notice in the 'Morning Post' at the time of the competition: "The drawings of Mr. Gillespie Graham by the same hand, which appears to have assisted "No. 64," (Mr. Barry's) "are masterly and entirely peculiar." This shows (what has never been for a moment questioned) that Mr. A. W. Pugin (as is stated on p. 196 of the published 'Life of Sir C. Barry') assisted him in detail drawings and perspective views under the pressure of time in the competition. It is curious that Mr. E. Pugin does not see how it contradicts the daring assertion that Sir Charles fraudulently copied his coadjutor's drawings, in order to make them appear to be his own.

(III.) In the pamphlet he collects on pp. 9-14 a number of letters, apparently chosen with an idea of making quantity a substitute for quality (three being anonymous, and some others given only in part), *in no one of which does the writer speak from any actual knowledge of his own*. Some are from mere hearsay of what was "generally believed," others from vague occasional sayings of Mr. A. W. Pugin himself. They are letters which make a fair show in a pamphlet, but which no official tribunal would receive for a moment.

A short reference to these will suffice. The first letter contains no evidence at all. It is practically anonymous (signed "J. A. H."), and merely contains a criticism on my father's Islington churches, and the cheap church built in Hatton Gar-

den in 1832, with an inference that he could not have designed the New Palace. In much of the criticism I believe that my father would have joined. But the inference could only have been made by one ignorant of the extraordinary capacity of growth in my father's mind, to which I have referred in writing his 'Memoir.' And according to all laws of evidence it is absolutely destroyed by any one piece of direct testimony, such as is given abundantly below. It would not be difficult to retaliate by estimating Mr. A. W. Pugin's powers of conceiving the design of a great building as a whole.

The other letters profess to contain evidence, and I proceed to examine its value.

An "Ex M.P." expressly says "I cannot offer you any "direct evidence in justification of this impression, but my "recollection is that it was generally accepted."

Mr. Grieve's letter (A) contains a reference, somewhat vague, to a confidential statement of Mr. Pugin. On this, see Mr. Pugin's public and private denials.

Mr. Shaw's statement (B) merely shews that between 1844 and 1852 Mr. Pugin was at work for my father, and does not refer to the competition drawings at all.

Letter C is anonymous, and therefore deserves no notice.

In D Mr. Baldwin Wood has "always understood" that Mr. A. W. Pugin "had a leading part in the design," &c. (This letter is not quoted *in extenso*.)

In E Mr. Chapman informs us that a similar statement was "in the mouth of every one connected with" a building of Mr. Pugin's at Nottingham. One statement in this letter is directly contradicted by Mr. Earp's letter in the foot-note below.

In F Mr. Hogarth speaks of mounting Mr. Barry's drawings under Mr. Pugin's direction, and of a declaration of Mr. Pugin's that he had intended to compete.

On letter G I simply refer to a letter given in the note from Mr. Earp.*

* This letter was addressed by Mr. Earp (unsolicited) to my brother, Mr. Charles Barry.

January 1, 1868.

SIR,—Having seen in Mr. Pugin's pamphlet an extract from a letter written by me, in answer to an inquiry from him—it being the concluding portion of a

In letter H Mrs. Thornton speaks of "remembrances of "conversations in old times between " Mr. Pugin "and her "husband," and correctly surmises that such remembrances "would not be of use."

In letter I Mr. Osmond simply declares, with perfect accuracy, that Sir Charles Barry spent an evening at Salisbury in 1835, and that he believes that he recognised some drawings of Mr. Pugin's in my father's competition designs.

In letter J Mr. Voysey merely states, on the authority of his brother, that Mr. Pugin's authorship was considered "as an acknowledged fact."

Of all these letters there is only one of any consequence, and even this derives its importance, not from its intrinsic value, but from the name, "J. R. Herbert," subscribed to it. When, however, its statements are analysed, they amount simply to this—that some drawings for the work were made in Mr. Herbert's presence, which is entirely consistent with the true statement of the case; that Mr. A. W. Pugin frequently said (what is also perfectly true, and quite consistent

business letter written in a hurried and, I must confess, thoughtless manner, but which I never imagined would be made public, and used as evidence in support of a subject one in my position could have no knowledge of—I feel it my duty to explain this matter.

I was never employed upon or in connection with the Houses of Parliament, but was with Mr. Myers, under whom I gained my knowledge of the late Mr. Pugin.

The sense in which I used the words "Art-Architect" was solely in reference to what I only knew to be Mr. Pugin's position there, the designer and superintendent of the wood-carving.

I have not, nor ever had, the slightest knowledge in what manner he was connected with that building other than in this department, and my letter distinctly disclaims the possession of any other knowledge.

For me to express an opinion on the subject the pamphlet deals with would evince a presumption I am far from possessing.

I trust you will kindly accept this explanation in the spirit in which it is tendered—that of removing the disagreeable impression it cannot fail to have produced in your mind to find such a letter used as testimony in support of a cause you would know I was utterly ignorant of.

To my surprise I see in a preceding letter, signed by Mr. William Chapman, my father alluded to as having in conversation contributed to form the opinion he has therein expressed.

My father, who is with me, says he never remembers to have heard such an opinion expressed, and emphatically denies all recollection of any such conversation; also I never, as is asserted, worked at St. Barnabas Church, Nottingham.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Charles Barry, Esq.

THOMAS BARR.

with Mr. Talbot Bury's statement) that the payment was of much consequence to him, and that he thought it better to make sure of the money; that his drawings were based on the general plan (how could they be otherwise?); that in the letter of 1845, Mr Herbert traced the hand of Sir C. Barry, on which I need only refer to the fact, to be shown hereafter, that it was actually based on a draft suggested by Mr. A. W. Pugin himself. The only other notable point is a statement of Mr. Herbert's "indelible conviction," which, with all due respect, I venture to think of comparatively slight value, when set against the evidence of eye-witnesses, who were professionally engaged in carrying out the work, or confidentially advising my father on the great features of the design.

Few things can more clearly show the poverty of Mr. E. W. Pugin's evidence than the stress which he is forced to lay on such letters as these. I cannot tell whether his father may have made any unguarded statements, especially in the latter years of his life, which may have been misunderstood or exaggerated by the natural partiality of friends. But I do not see how such vague reports can be pressed against the documentary evidence of his explicit denials, given on the authority of Mr. Ferrey, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Talbot Bury, and Mr. A. W. Pugin himself. As to the "common rumours," these simply indicate the danger foreseen by my father, and, as he always thought, sufficiently provided against by positive testimony, and by Mr. A. W. Pugin's voluntary disclaimers.

(IV.) But after these evidences he relies greatly on his father's diary. In his first letter he referred to the entries in that diary for 1836, apparently forgetting that the competition drawings were sent in on December 1, 1835, and that these references were therefore simply absurd! He has since found out his error; he has corrected it without acknowledgment, and now gives a long series of entries from the diary for 1835. But this leads him to a greater difficulty still; for he asserts that Mr. A. W. Pugin "began working on the Parliament

“house drawings for Mr. Barry on the 15th of May,” when it is well known that the conditions of the competition were *not announced till the end of July*.^{*} He asserts also that Mr. Barry was at Salisbury on September 1, 1835, when my father’s own diary[†] proves him to have been in London, and to have called on various persons there; and on November 2nd–8th, when the same document states that he was in town, working (as we know) night and day at his own design.[‡]

What is the explanation of these extraordinary errors? When we examine the quotations from the diary given on p. 15 of his pamphlet, we find (it is true) many entries of “drawings for Mr. Barry,” but no word about the Parliament House in connexion with them. The fact is that they were *drawings of fittings and furniture for the Birmingham Grammar School*. This Mr. E. W. Pugin might have known, had he compared dates; but it is proved to demonstration by a comparison of my father’s diary with Mr. Pugin’s.

Thus in the latter we read—*April 28th*, “Began Mr. Barry’s drawings;” *May 8th*, “Left Sarum;” *May 10th*, “Saw Mr. Barry:” in the former I find—*May 9th*, “Birmingham School, Mr. Pugin here with drawings of furniture.”

^{*} The following is a copy of the notice referred to, from the ‘London Gazette,’ July 24th, 1835:—

“By order of the Commissioners of His Majesty’s Woods, &c.

“NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

“*Notice to Architects.*”

“The Commissioners of His Majesty’s Woods, &c., inform Architects, intending to furnish designs for erecting the New Houses of Parliament, that such designs must be delivered into this Office on or before the 1st day of Dec. next.

“Designs to be addressed to Thomas Chawner, Esq. Particulars, with plan, will be furnished for £1, between 2 and 4 on 27 July, and following days, till Saturday 24 August.”

† This diary of Sir C. Barry is kept in ‘Richards’ Daily Remembrancer’ with great brevity, but extreme accuracy, not even the shortest journey being omitted. We should be happy to produce it before a proper tribunal, and should be glad to see Mr. Pugin’s produced at the same time.

The entry on Sept. 1st, 1835, is as follows:—

“Visited the Duchess of Sutherland with design for S.W. drawing-room chimney-piece, which was approved. Called on Westmacott with it, and gave him instructions. Called on Chantrey respecting Trentham monument.”

‡ It is curious that on Nov. 7th, 1836, my father (as his diary shows) was at Salisbury. I suspect that there is some confusion in Mr. Pugin’s diaries between 1835 and 1836.

Again, in Mr. Pugin's diary, I find—*May 15th*, "Began "Mr. Barry's work;" *May 20th*, "Sent off Mr. Barry's drawings." My father's diary says—*May 21st*, "Birmingham School, received drawings from Pugin."

But the most curious point, and one which Mr. E. W. Pugin ought to have understood, is this. In Mr. Pugin's diary I find—*September 2nd*, "Sent off drawings of Dining Room to "Mr. Barry." Now, what could the "Dining Room" have been in a general design for the New Houses of Parliament? Turn to my father's diary, and we find—*September 24th*, "Arrived at Salisbury from Bowood at half-past four. "Mr. Pugin at the White Hart to receive my directions as to "designs for the *furnishing of Dr. Jeune's House*" (at the Birmingham School).

This, even if taken alone, fully explains the "Dining Room," and the "drawings sent to Mr. Barry" on Sept. 25th, Sept. 29th, and Oct. 2nd. But we are not left to conjecture on this matter. It appears by Mr. Pugin's diary that Mr. Bury was engaged from Sept. 11th to Oct. 3rd on Mr. Gillespie Graham's drawings, and he expressly testifies, in a statement to be given hereafter, that Mr. Pugin was at work at that very time on drawings for the Birmingham School. This evidence, coming from a perfectly independent source, proves still more clearly the truth, which might be inferred from the diaries.

All these quotations from the diary are therefore absolutely irrelevant. But to proceed. The next extract from the diary for 1835 corresponds in part with my father's diary, and, in part, is quite irreconcilable with it.

Mr. Pugin's name is first found in Sir C. Barry's diary in connexion with the New Houses of Parliament on October 12th–17th, 1835, when he was at my father's house drawing. It was to this visit (I have no doubt) that Mr. Talbot Bury refers, as the first time when he saw the general design, at which Mr. Barry had been at work ever since August. It is curious that, though Mr. Pugin's own diary confirms this, as given on p. 17 of his son's pamphlet (*October 12th–17th*,

“Drew at Mr. B’s.”), yet that Mr. E. Pugin, because he wishes to discredit Mr. Bury’s account, says at the top of the same page :—“Mr. T. Bury finished Mr. Graham’s drawings on “October 3rd, and my father did not leave Salisbury for “London before November 19th.” (!)

So also the statement that Mr. Pugin was engaged at Mr. Barry’s on “working drawings” and “views” from Nov. 22nd–29th is perfectly, and even curiously, consistent with the statement of Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Bakewell given below.

But on Nov. 2nd, the diary given by Mr. Pugin states “Mr. Barry arrived,” when (as I have said above) my father’s diary proves him to have been in town. There is clearly some strange confusion here, which cannot be removed, unless the two documents can be (as we have always desired they should be) produced and compared.

It was to such inaccuracies and confusions as these, that I before referred, when I asserted that Mr. E. W. Pugin must have (I did not say intentionally) “misdated or misquoted” his father’s diary.* I still must assert most emphatically that

* The inaccuracy of Mr. E. W. Pugin’s writing is so great as materially to impair its credit. I give some instances of detail :—

On p. 34 he states that I charged him with “misdating and misquoting” letters. I never did so; I used those words only of his references to his father’s diary, and I conceive that I have justified them.

On p. 37 he speaks of my father as “about to touch 5 per cent. on three “millions of money,” when a comparison of the Letter VII. which he quotes, shows that the expression there used is a mere joking allusion to a previous letter of Mr. Pugin’s; for, of course, my father never did receive 5 per cent., and never did spend on the New Palace three millions of money.

On p. 43 he speaks of the fact that cartoons were designed by Mr. A. W. Pugin for the windows of the House of Lords, as disproving the statement that the “detailed drawings were prepared at Thames Bank,” when he must know that the reference is to stained glass, which was invariably put into Mr. Pugin’s hands, and which is seldom included by any architect in “detailed “drawings.”

On p. 46 he conceives, by a curious logic, that the fact that Sir C. Barry meditated resignation in 1850, disproves Mr. Charles Barry’s statement, that he had the same idea in 1845. Those who have read the record of my father’s troubles at the latter period will have little difficulty in understanding, why he at times thought of resigning.

In reference to the request for advice as to some terminals to “the flying “buttress to the Central Tower,” contained in the Letter XI. quoted on p. 48,

his references, as they at present stand, are worth nothing at all to his purpose. I have shown that much of the diary has obviously nothing to do with the matter at all; and that the rest, even when accurate, is utterly insufficient to prove Mr. E. Pugin's point, while it is perfectly consistent with the account given by Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Talbot Bury of the assistance actually rendered by Mr. A. W. Pugin.

So much then for the diary, on which so much stress has been laid. I think that after this analysis of its contents few will be inclined to attach much value to it, or to the use which has been made of it.

It will hardly be believed by those who have not carefully followed the controversy, that this is the whole of the evidence on which Mr. E. Pugin bases his charge. A number of letters from persons, not one of whom can speak from personal knowledge; a witness (Mr. Talbot Bury) who flatly contradicts him; and a diary, which is mostly irrelevant! I cannot wonder that in his letter of August 26th to the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' he should say, "It is not without considerable regret, that I find myself compelled to enter into a statement of facts, which would have been better told when the

he calmly adds in his letter to the 'Times,' "the designs for which I find, by reference to the diary, my father made in 1835," apparently ignorant of the fact that the Central Tower formed no part of the original design, and was added long after, to meet the requirements of Dr. Reid, who was appointed in 1840.

On p. 116 he says that "the Rev. A. Barry addressed the 'Times,' saying "that all Sir C. Barry's letters, diaries, &c., had been placed in his hands." "I accordingly applied to him for the seventy-six letters." Now, I never said a word about "letters" in my postscript to the letter to the 'Times' (which, I see, is quoted on p. 113 *without the postscript*); and in my letter to Mr. E. Pugin's solicitor I expressly pointed out the mistake, which is now repeated.

On p. 118 our offer, through our solicitor, to give all information about the missing letters, is represented as "seizing the straw held out to us by the "Building News," of Oct. 25th, when Mr. E. Pugin knows that the offer was made, not in the last letter, which he quotes, of Nov. 5th, but in an earlier letter of Mr. Cooper's, on Oct. 24th, 1867, given at the end of this pamphlet.

These are all points of detail; but I think they will show why we are unable to accept Mr. E. W. Pugin's statements and quotations as accurate, until they have been tested by some proper examination.

“present generation had ceased to exist.” Fortunately the eye-witnesses of the facts still survive. It is, in fact, not a little surprising, that at this distance of time we should be able to present so complete a chain of evidence. On all the important points of the case there is not a link wanting.

(I.) I add accordingly here a detailed statement from J. L. Wolfe, Esq., substantially the same as the short account given in the ‘Life of Sir C. Barry,’ pp. 196-198, but containing details, which it is now necessary to adduce. At the risk of some repetition, I have thought it better to give it exactly as it stands, with a few prefatory remarks by its Author, stating (what to all personal friends is well known) the relation in which he stood to my father. After reading this statement, which Mr. Wolfe offered to make before any tribunal, and on which he was willing to submit to any cross-examination, I think few will need any further evidence on this branch of the subject.

Prefatory Remarks.

“It is with the greatest reluctance, as all who know me will believe, that I have taken part in this controversy as to ‘Who was the art-architect of the Houses of Parliament?’ From all controversy I instinctively shrink; but it is especially painful to me to appear as a detractor from the merits of a distinguished artist, who is no longer here to answer me—of a man from whose society I derived both instruction and pleasure—with whom I never had a word of difference, and whose genius and talents I have never ceased to admire.

“No person knew better than myself how great were the advantages Charles Barry derived from his intercourse with A. Welby Pugin. They would have been great, even if Pugin had never drawn a line for Barry—for, as I have said elsewhere, ‘whenever Barry’s fire of enthusiasm began to pale, a visit from ‘his “comet” (as Pugin was called by us), sufficed to brighten ‘it.’* ”

* Mr. Purcell, in a well-written letter, has described his friend Pugin as a man so lovingly devoted to his art, that, so long as he could contribute to its glory, he was utterly indifferent to reward, either in fame or money. But,

“But Sir Charles Barry was the dear friend of all the best years of my life, and as his reputation, not only as an architect but as a man, has been most mercilessly, and, as I know, most unfairly, assailed, I feel it to be an imperative duty to stand forward and do my best to defend it.

“I shall not attempt to reply to Mr. Pugin’s lawyer-like pamphlet. That is a task I must leave to others more competent to perform it. I shall confine myself chiefly to a narrative of circumstances within my own recollection—adding some remarks that have occurred to me in reading the statements which, in various newspapers, Mr. Pugin has been moved to publish.

“But as I am a chief witness in this case, and but little known, I will here explain the nature of my relations with Sir Charles Barry, of which Mr. Pugin himself seems to have been so little aware, that he has classed me among Barry’s ordinary clerks.

“Barry and I were fellow students in Italy in the year 1820, and from that time to the end of his life we remained fast and dear friends. I myself had what was then considered the regular education of an architect—six years’ pupilage and three years’ travel. So, when Barry commenced his career, I was qualified, so far as education could make me so, to be his professional friend. And, as I did not follow his profession, and, therefore, no rivalry could exist between us, our intercourse became, and ever continued, thoroughly confidential and unreserved. Both of us had been trained in the classical school of our art, and both of us believed that the ‘Sublime and Beautiful’ in architecture must depend on principles, that were universal and eternal. But on minor matters there was sufficient difference between my friend and myself to allow me to become and remain his not useless critic.

“For many years, indeed up to the time when my friend Edward M. Barry took his well-earned place at the head of his father’s office, Barry seldom made a design without first consulting me; and when, during its progress, we differed on any point of importance, he usually challenged me to explain my ideas in drawing. And when it happened, as it sometimes did happen, that he thought a sketch of mine worth consideration, he laid it aside, and, at our next meeting, produced something

from my own observation, I should say that, although Pugin may have been careless in money matters, he was the reverse of indifferent.

that differed both from his own first idea and the one I had suggested. But this *tertium quid* was essentially and decidedly his own.

“For matters of importance, such as the great towers, in which I took especial interest, I made innumerable sketches, and even some careful drawings. But although, occasionally, this friendly competition may have helped to modify Barry’s ideas, I could not claim the authorship of any design, or any part of a design, that Barry ever carried out. For, as I have said elsewhere, ‘Barry, of all the men I ever knew, was the one least ‘likely to adopt other people’s ideas in art.’

“Now, between Barry and Pugin no such competition ever existed. But in everything that could be called a design or a feature in architecture, Pugin was content to carry out Barry’s ideas, as he has himself explained in his letter of 1845. When called upon he did not spare either criticisms or suggestions—and very valuable they sometimes were—but he never, to my knowledge, submitted to Barry even a sketch of his own ideas of anything beyond detail.

“The following statements were written when dated, and, therefore, long before the publication of Mr. Pugin’s pamphlet. But I have found nothing in that laboured production, which, I presume, contains his whole case, to induce me to alter a single word.

“Statement of facts relating to the authorship of the design for the New Houses of Parliament, with some remarks on the statements published by Mr. E. Welby Pugin in the ‘Pall Mall Gazette’ and the ‘Times.’

PART I.

“In order that there may be no question, as to my having been in a position to note the origin and progress of Barry’s ideas in designing the Houses of Parliament, I will state that no sooner was it known that a competition was shortly to take place, than Barry made with me a rapid tour in Belgium with the view of studying the Town Halls and other buildings from which he hoped to obtain valuable hints for the designs he meant shortly to prepare. Soon after our return home Barry sent a copy of the instructions issued by the Commissioners of Works, &c., for my consideration, and then after several preliminary discussions with me, and in my presence, he made the first sketches

which comprehended the entire design and contained the germs of all that followed.”*

“Long before Barry sought Pugin’s assistance, the entire design had been not only worked out in his own mind, but committed to paper in a series of plans, elevations, and sections, all drawn by his own hand, in his well-known and admired style of pencilling. These drawings, though on a small scale, were so minute, intelligible, and expressive, that any able assistant could, under Barry’s eye, have worked out the details.

“In general character the elevations differed little from those in the competition design, but they were somewhat less ornate ; indeed, those for New Palace Yard were in harmony with the entrance front of Westminster Hall.

“I had thus ample means of observing the progress of Barry’s design in every phase of its development ; and, as attachment to my friend, admiration for his genius, and ardent love for his art, all combined to keep alive the deep interest I felt in the great work he had in hand, it will not be thought surprising that I can now, after the lapse of so many years, make the present statement with confidence.

“Barry had already made considerable progress with a set of drawings on a larger scale, and had even sketched many specimens of detail, which he felt himself fully competent to design, when he began to fear time would run short ; and it was then, and mainly for that reason, that he determined to seek the assistance of Pugin. But this was at so late a date that, had not the designs, in plan and elevation, been definitely settled, it would have been impossible, even with Pugin’s assistance, to complete the competition drawings by the time fixed for their reception—and as it was, they were not delivered till within a few minutes of the last hour.

“The first work Pugin was set to do was this. Barry laid before him his own drawings, explained his views as to character and style, gave him the requisite dimensions, and left

* The sketch of the River Front was produced under these circumstances :—Barry had been discussing the subject with me, who was staying in his house, and, not feeling satisfied, retired to bed in that restless state well known to doubting composers. But I had not been long asleep, when he burst into my room, exclaiming, “Eureka ! I have got it at last !” and then and there, by the glimmer of a rushlight, he rapidly sketched out the grand idea that had just struck him. After a short sleep he was at his drawing-board, and, when I rejoined him, there was the River Front.

him to work out the details. Therefore, Pugin prepared a complete set of drawings, or rather of rough but masterly sketches in pencil, showing on a large scale the details of every part of the building, inside and out. Many of these drawings were made in Barry's office, while I was looking on, and were dashed in with the facility of a scene-painter.

"But, before these drawings were completed, Barry had begun to have misgivings as to the use he could make of them, and after discussions with me, his "fresh-eye" and critic, he determined to lay them aside, and he did so for these reasons. The details appeared to him so large, and even coarse, that he feared they might lessen the scale of his work; they were—in Barry's eye a great fault—ill-proportioned; and he perceived in them a tinge of foreign Gothic, sufficient to destroy the purely English character he wished his building to exhibit. There was another reason which to me, who knew my friend well, seemed likely to have influenced him in rejecting Pugin's details—they were not entirely his own. So, when Barry came to prepare his finished drawings, he adopted details of his own, smaller in scale than those proposed by Pugin, and more purely English.

"This first set of drawings by Pugin having been completed and laid aside, Barry engaged him to assist in preparing the finished drawings to be sent in for competition; and, accordingly, he made several drawings, mostly perspective views, of the important parts of the interior, such as the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Royal entrance and staircase, and others. All these drawings were made from Barry's own designs, and under his direction, but were drawn and finished by Pugin in his usual etching-like style, and they were sent in as they come from his hand, without any attempt having been made (as Mr. E. W. Pugin has insinuated) to conceal the fact that he was the draughtsman.

"Mr. E. W. Pugin has accused Barry of re-drawing his father's designs in order to make them appear as his own. But all persons who worked under Barry knew, to their cost, that he could never re-draw a design, even his own, without altering it, to suit his almost fastidious taste, again and again. The assertion that my friend ever practised the deception here laid to his charge is a gross calumny.

"Mr. E. W. Pugin declares that his father's diaries prove he was engaged in designing for Barry during the greater part of

1835, although the entries quoted prove nothing more than that Pugin was at work for Barry—nothing more than might have been found in the diaries of any of Barry's clerks. But he has omitted to explain that, during the greater part of 1835, his father was employed by Barry in preparing drawings for the internal fittings and furniture of the Birmingham Grammar School.* I can safely affirm that up to the time when, as I have already stated, Barry sought Pugin's assistance there had been no interchange of ideas between them relative to the designs for the new Houses of Parliament. For Barry was naturally anxious to keep his ideas secret, at all events till it was too late for a rival, and such Pugin was reported to be, to profit by them; and Pugin, if he intended, as his son tells us, to be a competitor, was not likely to risk his own defeat by aiding a rival, and such a rival as Barry.†

“Since writing the above remarks, I have had the opportunity of referring to Barry's diary for 1835, and I find that, down to a certain date, all entries of communication with Pugin relate to work at Birmingham and then, after an interval, during which we know (from Mr. Talbot Bury) that he was at work for Mr. G. Graham, there occurs in October 13th the first entry of his employment on the New Houses of Parliament. Mr. E. W. Pugin has asserted—on what authority does not appear—that his father, intending to be a competitor for the New Houses of Parliament, prepared a complete set of designs, but eventually sold them to Barry for 400 guineas, and that, although they were afterwards lost sight of, these were the identical designs carried out by Barry and claimed as his own.

“In reply to these extraordinary assertions, I declare that, although I was almost constantly with Barry from the time when he received the instructions issued by the Commissioners up to the hour when his design was completed and sent in, yet I neither saw these designs, nor did I ever hear of their existence, and as I was in my friend's unreserved confidence, it was morally impossible, that he could even have been acquainted with these designs without my knowledge.

“With regard to the assertion that Barry paid Pugin 400

* See the proofs of this on pp. 16-17, and the remarks of Mr. Talbot Bury, to be given hereafter.—A. B.

† The more effectually to keep his designs secret, Barry had converted his nursery into a private drawing-office, to which no other persons were admitted but his wife, myself, and a servant.

guineas for an original design, it has been ascertained from Barry's cheque books that 413*l.* 14*s.* was the total of all sums paid by Barry to Pugin from the date of the latter's first employment at Birmingham up to 1838, when he received a cheque "in full," and these payments were for, not only the whole of his work on the New Palace—described above—but probably for all he had done for Barry at Birmingham, and for all this he claimed no more than he was fairly entitled to as a superior draughtsman.

"Thus Mr. E. W. Pugin's assertion proves to be no more than one of those 'traditions,' to which he appeals as history.*

"Having now explained what Pugin really did for Barry, I repeat, what I have declared elsewhere, that when the competition drawings were sent in they did not exhibit a single feature designed by Pugin.

"I make this statement for the information of a younger generation, but by all architects and lovers of their art who saw the competition drawings exhibited and compared Pugin's own design (sent in as Mr. Graham's) with the successful design by Charles Barry, such a statement must be considered altogether unnecessary."

This decisive statement is curiously confirmed by a letter sent to my brother at the first opening of the subject, by a gentleman personally unknown to us, who was in my father's office in 1835.

"26, *Bennett's Hill, Birmingham,*
"September 26th, 1867.

"To E. M. Barry, Esq.

"DEAR SIR,—Having seen a letter in the 'Standard' of the 24th inst. signed 'Initial,' dated from Forest Hill, September 22nd, that there is some dispute as to who designed the Houses of Parliament, I beg to state for your information, that I saw your father make the original sketch in his office in Foley

* Mr. Pugin has said that, in a letter in the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' I have admitted that Barry paid Pugin a sum of 400 guineas, and he has assumed that it was the price of an original design. Now as it was in my recollection that Pugin received, in all, about 400*l.*, I thought the assertion that the sum paid was 400 guineas might possibly be correct. It was not till Barry's cheque-books had been examined that I could give the particulars.

Place at the time I was with him. I find in a copy of my diary, that I kept at his office, the following entry :—

‘ *Saturday, September 26th, 1835.*—Houses of Parliament, to laying down paper, &c., for ditto, 6 ho.’

“ This paper was laid down for the express purpose of making the competition drawings, your father having made the original sketches some time previous to this date.* Your father was about seven weeks in preparing these plans, after he had made up his mind as to his plan and elevation, assisted by Mr. Groves and myself. The late A. W. Pugin came and helped to ink-in, a few weeks previously to his sending in the plans; your father having driven it off so late before commencing upon them, that he was compelled to get some quick hand to help him.

“ The last entry I find respecting the original designs is :—

‘ *December 1st.*—Houses of Parliament, 6 hours.’

“ I believe this was the day I accompanied the plans to the Office of Woods and Forests at Whitehall.

“ I do not know what has been said upon this subject, therefore I scarcely know how to write to you.

“ You are at liberty to make what use you think proper of this communication. You can either make quotations from it, or publish the whole.

“ Remaining yours truly,

“ WILLIAM BAKEWELL.”

(II.) With this statement must be compared the entirely independent evidence given, from the other side, by Mr. Talbot Bury in the letters quoted above (on pp. 7–11), and confirming Mr. Wolfe’s evidence in every essential particular.

It should be added, that to Mr. Talbot Bury we are indebted for a hint, which has enabled us to explain a point, on which Mr. E. Pugin has laid great stress—the large sum of 400 guineas said to have been paid to his father for aid in the competition designs.

In our first letters we allowed this to pass, because all my

* In my father’s diary I find—*September 27th, 1835*, “ Commenced design “ in detail for the New Houses of Parliament.”

father's cheque-books of that date had been lost; and in consequence of the subsequent failure of his bankers, Messrs. Cockburn, we were unable to ascertain the truth by the banking records. But Mr. T. Bury, speaking from memory, doubted the fact of the payment, and a subsequent discovery of the counterfoils of the cheque-books (in the course of the rigorous search instituted in consequence of Mr. E. W. Pugin's demand of the letters said to have been lent to my father) has confirmed the doubt. In 1835, Mr. Pugin's name does not occur at all. In 1836, I find the following payments:—Feb. 10th, 105*l.*; June 22nd, 60*l.*; Dec. 19th, 18*l.* 14*s.*, *amounting not to 400 guineas, but to 183*l.* 14*s.**, and of this I do not feel sure that some did not belong to the Birmingham Grammar School. In 1837, payments were made to the amount of 110*l.*, and in 1838 there is a payment of 120*l.* “in full.” It is clear that these subsequent payments were for the assistance given in working out the drawings for the estimate, and no one can think them excessive for a first class draughtsman. At that time Mr. A. W. Pugin was a young man of 23, known as a man of ability and great knowledge of Gothic detail, but not as the designer of any great building. His time (I have reason to believe) was reckoned and paid for by the day, and such payment was a matter of some consequence to him. The whole theory, which Mr. E. W. Pugin has built up, is coloured by a remembrance of the position which his father afterwards occupied, and is not in the slightest degree based on fact.

(III.) But what did Mr. A. W. Pugin himself say on this subject? I pass by for the present the important letter of 1845, which shall be alluded to hereafter.

I add, however, the evidence of Mr. Ferrey, the friend and biographer of Mr. A. W. Pugin (in the ‘Pall Mall Gazette’ of August 24th). “On more than one occasion, when mentioning to Mr. A. W. Pugin the common rumour that in reality “he was the author of the New Houses of Parliament, I remember well how energetically he denied the truth of the

“report, bidding me to give it the most positive contradiction, expressing in the warmest terms his admiration of Sir C. Barry’s genius as an architect, and dwelling much on “the skill which he had shown in connection with the Houses “of Parliament.”

The same statement is made by Mr. C. J. Richardson in the ‘Times’ of September 17th. “I have heard Mr. Pugin “indignantly deny that he was the architect of these buildings, or had anything to do with them, beyond making “working drawings of ornamental detail.”

It may be not out of place to remark, that in the course of the violent and unexampled attacks made on Mr. Barry, after his success in the competition (referred to in pp. 151-154 of the ‘Life of Sir C. Barry’), when all kinds of insinuations and reflections were freely made upon his skill and his character, no single person ever thought (so far as we know) of advancing a plea against him, which, if it could have pretended even to probability, would have been almost fatal to his success.

The Editor of the ‘Builder’ in an article on September 14, 1867, adds—“the recollection of an indignant personal “denial of the rumour by Sir Charles Barry and Mr. Pugin “both.”

The same paper has since reiterated the statement, in a review of the ‘Life of Sir C. Barry,’ on November 30, 1867, in which the following private letter of my father’s is quoted:—

“*Westminster, Sept. 25, 1852.*

“DEAR GODWIN,—I am much obliged to you for the just mention you have made in your memoir of poor Pugin, of the part he has taken in the decorations of the New Palace at Westminster. It relieves me of all necessity of contradicting the false reports that have been put in circulation on the subject. I would almost rather let it be supposed that the whole of any credit, that may be due to the work, should be attributed to him, than that I should be obliged to put forth any statement of facts at the present time, that might to an ill-natured world

appear to be ungenerous, and calculated to dim in some degree the lustre of his great fame.

“Yours, very sincerely,

“CHARLES BARRY.”

The following letter from the Rev. Benjamin Webb, well known as an Ecclesiologist, and a friend of Mr. A. W. Pugin, is equally distinct in its testimony.

“*Jan. 24, 1868.*

“DEAR DR. BARRY,—You are quite welcome to use my testimony, that Augustus Pugin (whom I knew intimately) never claimed for himself the merit of designing the Houses of Parliament. In fact, I think he sometimes used to criticize the elevations somewhat unfavourably. But I never remember him speaking otherwise than kindly and respectfully of your father. No doubt, after the ground plan had been arranged, Pugin rendered very important subordinate services to Sir Charles Barry, and made his unrivalled knowledge of Third-Pointed detail available for the more complete working out of this great national building.

“This is the utmost that can be said of Pugin’s share in the work, in my own opinion: and I think the friendly co-operation between him and Sir Charles Barry, was equally creditable to both artists. I have said as much as this to Mr. Edward Pugin, and am sorry on all grounds that he has thought fit to raise this question.

“I am ever, dear Dr. Barry,

“Very truly yours,

“BENJN. WEBB.”

What is to be said to all this? The answer given may well illustrate the old saying, “Save me from my friends.” Mr. E. W. Pugin considers that this was a part of his father’s having “sold his brains,” and (I presume) his honour with them; and Mr. Purcell (in a letter to the ‘Times’ of September 10) considers that Mr. Pugin was “a genius”—an “enthusiast” for Gothic architecture—of “scrupulous and “almost Quixotic delicacy,” and that therefore—in order to help forward a design, of which (be it remembered) he greatly disapproved and on his own principles must have

disapproved—he became a party to a systematic fraud, and told falsehoods, whenever it was desirable to do so !

It is hardly necessary, after the failure of evidence on the one side and its abundance on the other, to do more to meet this charge. I have only to call attention, in conclusion to the extraordinary improbability of the whole story—of the existence of such a compact between men like Sir C. Barry and Mr. A. W. Pugin—of the possibility of its being kept secret, if it had existed, for more than thirty years. I may add that any one who can judge of architectural work, and who will compare Mr. Pugin's principles of design and actually erected works, with the general design and details of the New Palace, will feel that they are radically and manifestly different. The design, which Mr. Pugin did send in, under the name of Mr. Gillespie Graham, was actually thus different, both in detail and in principle, from the competition design of Mr. Barry and the existing building. While Mr. Barry's was, almost from the first, recognised as pre-eminent, this design of Mr. Pugin's did not even secure one of the premiums, or attract any special notice of the judges or of the public. In truth, the *à priori* improbability of the whole story is such, that nothing but a mass of conclusive evidence could induce any one even to give it a moment's consideration, and the evidences adduced will not bear the slightest scrutiny.

(B)—SUBSEQUENT WORK AT THE NEW PALACE AT
WESTMINSTER.

I pass on now to the second part of Mr. E. W. Pugin's statement, that after my father's appointment as architect, Mr. A. W. Pugin was "called upon to complete his work," and that he had to produce all "the working drawings and "details of the building," *i. e.* "the full-size drawings of the "features" of the "design and of each separate component

“part thereof, with their construction and application distinctly delineated.” In fact, according to this statement, Mr. A. W. Pugin was in all that related to art, the real architect of the building.

Before entering upon the subject, I may perhaps be allowed to quote, from a passage written before this controversy was thought of, what is the view of the case which Sir C. Barry’s representatives put forward.

“As soon as he was appointed architect to the New Palace, he immediately thought of his friend, and resolved to invite him to his aid. Convinced that Mr. Pugin was at that time unrivalled in his knowledge of Gothic detail, admiring his extraordinary powers as a draughtsman, carried away by sympathy with his burning artistic enthusiasm, he could wish for no other coadjutor. The invitation was accepted, and a connection was established equally honourable to both artists. No man was more original than Mr. Pugin. He held strongly certain principles, on the evolution of which he greatly disagreed with his friend: he was one whose name and genius could at all times command an independent authority. Yet for the furtherance of his art he was willing to accept a distinctly subordinate position, and to work under the superintendence and control of another. His acceptance of the post, and the spirit in which he discharged its duties, showed the generosity and unselfishness which were his well-known characteristics. Nor, on the other hand, could Mr. Barry be unaware of the danger of calling in a too powerful coadjutor. He knew the almost inevitable risk which he incurred of being supposed to wear other men’s laurels, of having all that was good or spirited in the details attributed to Mr. Pugin, and of finding it difficult or impossible to control an enthusiasm, which might work in what seemed to him undesirable methods. But these things he resolutely put aside for the sake of an aid which he thought likely to improve his great building and which he knew to be genial and inspiring to himself. That Mr. Pugin was the last man in the world to encroach on another man’s authority or credit he knew, and that this confidence in his friend’s character was not misplaced is shown by the strong disclaimer which he put out, when an attempt was made to attribute to

him more than he felt to be his due. The misapprehensions of others he could afford to disregard.

“The first aid which he received from Mr. Pugin was under the pressure of shortness of time in making the original design. Working under Mr. Barry’s own eye and direction, Mr. Pugin sketched for him in pencil a complete set of details, in a style perhaps bolder, less carefully proportioned and less purely English, than would have been adopted by himself. In the design they differed *toto cælo*. Mr. Pugin would have recommended irregular and picturesque grouping of parts, utterly at variance with the regularity and symmetry actually adopted. Except in details, he neither had, nor could have had, any influence whatever, and those who compare the details of his own buildings with those of the New Palace will readily see that even here his influence, however valuable, was chiefly indirect.

“After Mr. Barry’s appointment as architect, he still received the same aid in preparing detailed drawings for the estimate, most of which however, by changes in design, were afterwards set aside. Finally, at his recommendation, Mr. Pugin was formally appointed superintendent of the wood-carving, and in that capacity he directed, first the formation of a valuable collection of plaster casts of the most famous examples at home and abroad, and next the execution of the wood-work, ornamental metal-work, stained glass, and encaustic tiles throughout the whole building. But in all cases it was thoroughly understood between them, that the architect’s supremacy was to be unimpaired. Every drawing passed under his eye in all cases for supervision, in very many for alteration. Mr. Pugin’s originality and enthusiasm never interfered with this understanding: he would carry out vigorously and heartily what he himself could not altogether approve. * His suggestions and criticisms, freely given and freely received, were invaluable; and his enthusiasm, even in its eccentricities, was inspiring and irresistible. For more than five-and-twenty years the intercourse between the two friends and coadjutors continued, unbroken by any differences except in taste, and, when Mr. Pugin was struck down by his fatal illness, Mr. Barry felt that his loss was irreparable.”—*Life of Sir C. Barry*, c. vi., pp. 195–198.

It will be seen from this extract, that there is no disposition on our part to depreciate the value of Mr. Pugin’s

services. Those services are once more emphatically dwelt upon in the account given in the same work, of the internal design and fittings of the House of Lords. But the claim which is now put forward is widely different, and that claim we can most distinctly disprove.

I shall, as before, first examine the evidences on which it is based.

(I.) In the first place, Mr. E. W. Pugin refers once more to the diary* (pp. 20, 21). But little stress is laid upon it in this case, because its entries merely show—what no one has ever denied—that Mr. A. W. Pugin was at work for my father on the detailed drawings required for the estimate, which had to be prepared in a great hurry, and to be laid before Parliament at the beginning of 1837. The question is, What was the nature of that help?

(II.) In order to answer this, Mr. E. W. Pugin refers to some thirty-nine letters of my father's. These seem to be arranged on the principle on which inferior troops are massed in column; the first few alone are important, the others are simply added to give mass and weight.

It may be known to some of my readers that the publication of Mr. E. W. Pugin's pamphlet was delayed by us, until the originals of these letters could be verified, and authentic copies of them taken. This step on our part appears to have excited some surprise; but I think that such surprise will cease, when attention has been called to the insertion, which he has thought fit to make in the first letter, and the portions, which he has also thought it right to omit, in the first letter of the second series, given on p. 35 of his pamphlet. We felt (as I have said elsewhere) that no dependence could be placed on partial quotations; though undoubtedly we were not quite prepared to find what, by the

* I observe that Mr. Graham's name is here again brought in. Of course, the drawings done for him could have no reference to the Houses of Parliament, for the competition was decided in January, 1836. The mention of him is therefore entirely irrelevant.

use of the authentic copies, we have actually discovered. I may add also that our demand was made on October 24th, 1867, before the pamphlet actually appeared, and that it was only because this demand was neglected, that we felt bound to object to the publication of the pamphlet on November 18th. Had our reasonable demand been complied with, the pamphlet would not have been delayed a single day.*

I proceed now to the examination of these letters. Three only need to be examined in detail; the rest may be easily characterized and dismissed.

(a) The first letter is that of September 23rd, 1836 (p. 23). In this, Mr. Barry states that he has forwarded "a parcel of tracings," which "will furnish the necessary "data for the preparation of a large batch of internal details, "including the two Houses complete, the King's Robing-room, Gallery and Staircase, and the Entrance Vestibule." Now the whole question here is clearly this, What was the nature of these data? Mr. E. W. Pugin, to prove his view of the question, *actually inserts the words* "(i.e. *dimensions*)" *after the word "data,"* without anything whatever to indicate that they are not in the original! He also goes on to assume that the tracings sent were merely "plans," and that "designs and details" with "sections," including, in fact, all the artistic part of the design, are required. Now, when we examine the letter, we find that the "designs and details" asked for are merely those of "wall framing," and the sections are evidently those of stone-work on a large scale, "half an inch or one inch to the foot." The question, therefore, still remains, What were the tracings sent? In his letter to the 'Times,' Mr. E. W. Pugin calmly assumes that they were "tracings from my father's" (Mr. A. W. Pugin's) "drawings," evidently conceiving, most truly, that they were something more than plans. He has now changed his ground by another equally gratuitous assumption, and insists that they were plans only. But it happens that, by examination

* The original letter of our solicitor to Messrs. Longmans, on Oct. 24th, 1867, contains these words:—"Sir Charles Barry's executors have no wish to "hinder in the slightest degree the publication of the pamphlet."

of my father's diary, I can answer the question. I find there the following entry—*September 23rd*, 1836, "Forwarded to Pugin tracings of the three floors complete, *and sections* to enable him to proceed with the details of the interior. Letter to him thereon." The letter therefore, properly understood, merely shows a kind of assistance which we have gladly acknowledged, and the nature of which will be abundantly illustrated by letters hereafter to be quoted.*

(*b*) I proceed now to the second letter, *October 22nd*, 1836, in which Mr. Barry acknowledges the receipt of the drawings above requested, and states that they "afforded him a rich treat." Much is made of this last phrase; but those who know the extreme beauty of Mr. A. W. Pugin's drawings, especially in those details in which he chiefly excelled, will think it not altogether hyperbolical. It goes on to say that Mr. Barry has sent "tracings of the grand public entrance and approach to the Houses and Committee-rooms" to give the data required; and finally—provided that this part of "the building be of a simple and massive character," and that a "central pillar be avoided"—it permits the "groining and interior generally of the King's or Record Tower entrance," which was at this time being hurriedly altered, to be made "of any design you think proper."†

Now this distinct permission to determine the design of one definite portion, evidently, according to all logical rules, implies that such express permission was required, as being exceptional and not general. Yet Mr. E. W. Pugin actually argues that the expression, "this part of the building," implies that "my father designed *other* parts to the plan sent to him" (!!) and all this in the face of the fact, that of the other parts of the building tracings were actually sent at this very time. Again I repeat, that this letter also, although it is the strongest to which he can refer, fails entirely to support the wide inferences which he has drawn from it.

* See especially Mr. Gibson's letter on p. 72.

† The whole of this work was subsequently thrown aside, when important modifications were made about 1843.

But it may still be asked, what was the actual nature of the work done? This can be best answered by a letter from R. R. Banks, Esq., then at the head of my father's office.

“1, *Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, S.W.*,
“*January 10th, 1868.*”

“MY DEAR DR. BARRY,—I see that Mr. E. Pugin in his pamphlet appears to misunderstand the nature of his father's work for Sir C. Barry after the competition was decided. He says, p. 19, ‘My father commenced working again for Sir C. Barry in August, 1836,’ which, I believe, is quite correct. This was at the time when an estimate of the cost of the entire building was ordered to be prepared by the Government, they being unwilling to sanction the commencement of the works without having a detailed estimate. Sir C. Barry states in his letter of the 17th April, 1837 (given by Mr. Pugin on page 31) that the Board of Works had then just finished the examination of his estimate which had been sent to them at the end of January, 1837; there had thus been about five months only occupied, in the preparation of the entire set of drawings, and in making the estimate. During a considerable portion of this time, Mr. Pugin was employed, with myself and other assistants, in preparing a complete set of drawings under the incessant direction of Sir C. Barry, who gave himself but little rest the whole time, working from six in the morning till after midnight. Mr. Pugin of course, from his knowledge of matters of Gothic detail, was requested to confine himself to getting out sheets of details of portions of the elevations and various internal fittings, such as doors, panelling, fireplaces, &c., whilst others, whose talents lay more in structural matters, made details of roofs, floors, &c., the general staff being occupied in the more mechanical labour of making out the entire set of drawings. These drawings, as fast as they were prepared, were put into the hands of the well-known surveyor, Mr. H. A. Hunt, who was working vigorously to take out the quantities; and the whole work was marvellously quickly done. The sheets of details prepared by Mr. Pugin were *never intended by Sir C. Barry to be used as drawings from which to execute the works*, their object being to show the surveyor the relative costliness of the various parts of the work, and to insure the provision by him in the estimate of sufficient

amount to carry out works with a similar amount of elaboration. Accordingly the work was never executed from them, and bears but little resemblance to them, since every part of building was designed and re-designed, when the time for its execution arrived, by Sir C. Barry—in some parts, I should think, ten times over.

“As the above drawings for estimate were made, while I occupied a principal position in Sir C. Barry’s office, and, as I worked myself incessantly upon them, I am able to speak confidently as to the above facts, and I have no doubt Mr. Hunt can confirm what I have stated about the estimate.

“Yours sincerely, R. R. BANKS.”

(c) From this it will be clearly seen what is the real meaning of these two letters, which have been so loudly and emphatically proclaimed as decisive on the matter. But the latter is at least quoted with accuracy. I cannot say the same of the next letter.

I must call special attention to this letter, the first of the Second series (given on p. 35 of Mr. E. Pugin’s pamphlet), referring to the fittings and decorations of the House of Lords. It is very important, because it was the beginning of Mr. A. W. Pugin’s regular engagement, and on it his son has laid great stress, as showing that Sir Charles was perfectly helpless without his “art-architect.” He becomes even eloquent on the “great necessity” which it disclosed, and “deep humiliation” which it involved. Accordingly he prints it thus :—*

“DEAR PUGIN,—I am in a regular fix respecting the working drawings for the fittings and decorations of the House of Lords, which it is of vital importance to me should now be finished with the utmost possible despatch. . . . I know of no one who can render me such valuable and efficient assistance, or can so thoroughly relieve me of my present troubles of mind in respect of these drawings as yourself, &c., &c.”

The extracts are well chosen, in order to support his view. Fortunately I can now subjoin a full copy of the letter,

* In the quotation of this letter in the ‘Times,’ there is not even a mark of omission.

placing between brackets the parts omitted by Mr. E. W. Pugin. The comparison will probably astonish most of my readers. (The italics are mine.)

“3, *Marine Parade, Brighton, 3 Sept. 1844.*

“DEAR PUGIN,*—I am in a regular fix respecting the working drawings for the fittings and decorations of the House of Lords, which it is of vital importance to me should now be finished with the utmost possible dispatch. [*Although I have now made up my mind as to the principles, and, generally, as to the details of the design for them, including a new design for the throne, which is at last perfectly satisfactory to me, I am unfortunately unable to get the general drawings into such a definite shape, as is requisite for preparing the working details, owing to a lameness in one of my legs, which has laid me on my back, either in bed or on the sofa, for the last ten days, and is, I fear, likely to keep me in the same position for some days, or, perhaps, weeks to come,* at this place, where I have been advised to take up my quarters for the advantage of change, sea air, bathing, &c., &c. Now, as] I know of no one who can render me such valuable and efficient assistance, or can so thoroughly relieve me of my present troubles of mind in respect of these said drawings as yourself, [I am induced to write to you in the hope that you may be both able and willing to pass two or three days, or even a week, with me for the purpose of making out the drawings in question, and of enabling me to consult you generally, and enter into some permanent arrangement that will be satisfactory to you, as to occasional assistance for the future in the completion of the great work, as well as for the discharge of my obligations to you for what you have already done. I feel quite sure, that, if we were here together quietly for a few days, *we should be able to make out definitively every portion of the design* of the House of Lords’ fittings, &c., in general drawings, so that you might be able to supply me with the details subsequently, from time to time, according to your leisure and convenience. I earnestly hope you will give me a line, by return of post,

* I make one remark on the address (“Dear Pugin” instead of the “Dear Sir” of the former letters) and the general tone of this letter, as bearing upon the question of the supposed estrangement, so constantly referred to by Mr. E. W. Pugin, between his father and Sir C. Barry. Is it in the least degree like a letter, written “after many years’ disruption of intercourse,” to a person with whom there had been any cause of quarrel?

expressive of your consent to fall into the arrangement which I have proposed, and to name a time when I may expect to have the pleasure of seeing you.

"*I have all the requisite drawings with me*, together with a good supply of drawing-paper, tackle, &c. It would really do me good, both in body as well as in mind, to have you with me; therefore, pray do not disappoint me if you can in any way help it.] Believe me, dear Pugin, yours very truly,

"CHARLES BARRY.

"The weather here is delicious and exhilarating, and the proposed change would be sure to do you good."

I think comment on this style of quotation needless. When Mr. E. W. Pugin can think himself justified in suppressing, first, the declaration that my father had "quite made up his mind as to the principles, and, generally, as to the details of the design;" next, the fact that he required Mr. Pugin's help "because of a lameness in one of his legs,* which kept him in bed or on the sofa," and so made it impossible for him to get out the drawings himself; thirdly, the statement that my father had "all the requisite drawings" ready, and intended, with Mr. Pugin's aid, to make out, then and there, "definitively every portion

* This was, as I remember, caused by a railway accident. I find in my father's diary for 1844:—

Aug. 19 to 30	.. ..	Unwell.	
August 30	.. ..	Quitted London for Brighton on account of illness.	
Aug. 31 to Sept. 9	.. ..	Unwell.	
Sept. 10..	.. ..	Mr. Billing came to me to assist in preparing drawings.	
Sept. 19 (Thursday)	.. ..	Mr. Pugin came to me, and assisted with drawings for finishings of House of Lords.	
Sept. 23 (Monday)	.. ..	Mr. Pugin left me.	
Sept. 27..	.. ..	Quitted Brighton for town; stopped and slept at Reigate.	
Sept. 30..	.. ..	At J. L. W.'s (Mr. Wolfe's). At drawings for finishings of House of Lords.	
Oct. 1, 2, 3, 4, to 15, and so on till Dec. 13	.. ..	Ditto.	Ditto.

It will be seen from the above, that my father, though unwell, was constantly at work, and that Mr. Pugin's visit extended only over five days, one of which was a Sunday, and two others partly, if not wholly, occupied with travelling between Ramsgate and Brighton.

“of the design for fittings, &c., in general drawings”—it is certainly time to demand that his evidences be brought before a proper tribunal, or that, when this is refused, at least the fairness of his quotations, be tested. A cause which needs such support, is virtually lost.

We possess the design for the Throne referred to. It is dated 17 Dec., 1844, and is entirely drawn by my father. It is to a scale of four feet to an inch, which will explain to professional readers that it is sufficient to show the details clearly enough to enable any good assistant to make the working drawings from it. We also possess the details made by Mr. Pugin from this design, dated May, 1845, which details were carried into execution, subject to alterations made in them by my father when they were modelled and in progress at Thames Bank. A photograph of my father's drawing is given as a frontispiece to this Statement.

(d) The other letters, except the last, need little notice. Letter 3 speaks of “exquisite details;” Letter 4 of “vanes;” Letter II. of the next series, of some details, apparently of the throne; Letter III. of “gas fittings and hinges;” Letter IV. “of cartoons for stained glass;” Letter V. of “furniture, upholstery, and metal-work;” Letter VI. of Mr. Barry's contemplated resignation; Letter VII. of decorations of the House of Commons ceiling, which Mr. Barry disapproves of, and for which he encloses a sketch of scroll-work, and a templet of certain shields for heraldry; Letter VIII. of candlesticks, a pump, and inkstands; Letter IX. of heraldic devices; Letter X. of “stained glass;” Letter XI. encloses a tracing of a flying buttress of the Central Tower, asking advice about “animal terminals;” Letter XII. of “crowned shield and supporters below;” Letters XIII.—XXXIV. of tiles, stuffs, cloak-stands, arms, details of gates, furniture, railings, brackets, boxes, umbrella-stands, metal fire-guards, candlesticks, inkstands.

I cannot be sorry that Mr. E. W. Pugin has thought it worth while to print such letters as these. What can show more distinctly the minute character of the details entrusted

to Mr. A. Pugin? But I must add that the letters often contain criticisms and orders for alteration by Sir C. Barry (omitted usually in Mr. E. W. Pugin's pamphlet) showing the unremitting care with which he himself considered every detail of his great building, even such as had been entrusted to so able a subordinate. Far from shaking our statement they accord with it most fully.

(e) The last letter refers to "working drawings for the "Clock Tower" and new front to Old Palace Yard; and as this has been misunderstood, as, for example, by Mr. Fergusson in his letter to the 'Builder' of Jan. 4th, 1868, I think it better to subjoin here a statement of my brother Mr. E. M. Barry, who was, at the time to which they refer, my father's confidential assistant. Written in that spirit of appreciation of Mr. E. W. Pugin's genius which he has always shown, it yet fixes, with perfect distinctness, the value of the evidence deduced from the above letters.

" *Westminster*, 9 Jan. 1868.

"MY DEAR ALFRED,—The letters of Sir C. Barry published by Mr. E. Pugin, call for a few words of comment. Not one of them is printed entire, and it is evident that they are private and confidential communications to a trusted friend, and meant for his eye alone. I abstain, however, from any remarks as to their publication under these circumstances. They prove, what has never been denied, that Pugin worked at the details of Sir C. Barry's designs. Moreover, some of the matters enumerated, such as 'gas coronals, table candlesticks, pole screens, 'easy chairs, pump, inkstands, paper-holders, patterns for stuffs, 'umbrella-stands, letter-boxes, &c.' were, possibly, designed as well as detailed by Pugin, though for some, even of these trifling articles, I saw my father make the original sketches. But as regards Mr. E. Pugin's assertion, that his father was in any sense of the word the architect of the building, the letters prove, and could not but prove, nothing whatever. There is nothing in them, that any architect of a great public work might not have written to an assistant, and they do not refer to any, even of the less important features of the building except in the following cases. I. The flying buttresses of the Central Tower. II. The panels flanking the open galleries

between the windows of the Victoria Tower. And III. The Clock Tower, and the new front in Old Palace Yard.

“On the letters generally I may remark that some of them were evidently written to Mr. Pugin as the representative of the contractors, Messrs. Hardman, Minton, and others, who, as is well known, employed Mr. A. W. Pugin to make out their large cartoons and full-size working drawings, from which the articles supplied by them were manufactured. This circumstance is illustrated by such entries as the following in my father’s Diaries :—

1851. Aug. 28.—Accompanied Pugin and Hardman over the works, determining as to models of lighting, and giving them orders for chandeliers, brackets, &c.

,, Oct. 30.—Accompanied P. over the works to inspect patterns of chandeliers.

,, Aug. 22.—At Worsley. Pugin and Hardman called.

1852. Jan. 15.—Letters to Pugin with orders.

,, Feb. 11.—Mr. Minton here respecting his disagreement with Pugin.

1844. Dec. 11.—Mr. Pugin here with parts of railing for House of Lords :—

	Lbs.	per lb.	£	s.	d.
,, ,, A. W. P.—	22 Small vanes	3s.	3	6	0
	52 Large vanes	3s. 10d.	9	19	4
	16 Crowns	5s. 4d.	4	5	4

,, Dec. 12.—Report to the Board as to employment of Mr. Pugin

“I will now take the three points above noted *seriatim*.

“I. The flying buttresses of the Central Tower. This reference does not apply, as Mr. E. Pugin would have us to suppose, to the design of these features, but only to the manner in which they should be terminated. I prepared the working drawings for them, and perfectly recollect the question in debate at the time, which was, whether each flying buttress should terminate, as at present, with a square crocketed pinnacle, or with a supporter carrying vanes and badges, like the lions on the two pedestals at the entrance of the Victoria Tower. Both designs were tried on the model of the tower by Mr. Mabey, and when the selection was made, I sponged out from the drawing of the tower the animal terminals, and inserted the pinnacles. With the relations then existing between Mr. Pugin and my father, it was natural that Sir Charles should mention to him, as he did to my knowledge to other friends, the question he was then solving, and his letter does no more than this. When Sir Charles wrote his letter he asked Mr. Pugin for

sketches of the animals. If they were given, a glance at the tower will show that they were never carried out.

"II. The panels flanking the galleries between the windows of the Victoria Tower. These features of the tower might well escape attention, as they are in the corners next to the octagon turrets, and Sir Charles's anxiety about them shows just the reverse of that which Mr. E. Pugin seeks to prove. Nothing, in fact, can demonstrate more conclusively the care and attention Sir Charles bestowed on every insignificant portion of his great work, than his care about these panels, which might have been finished almost in any way, without affecting the design of the tower, and which, in my opinion, might have been left altogether plain with advantage. It happens that I myself made the working drawings for the open galleries of the Victoria Tower, and the first idea for the panels in question was a shield and sceptre on a background of foliage. This was modelled and carved by Thomas as it now exists. Sir Charles, in his letter to Pugin, speaks of crowned shields and supporters, and possibly Pugin may have made a sketch of them as requested; however that may be, they were never so executed, but Sir Charles's original idea was carried out.

"III. The Clock Tower and new front in Old Palace Yard. The letter of 23 Feb. 1852 says, 'I am much pressed respecting the Clock Tower and the new front in Old Palace Yard, as the building is at a stand, in respect of these portions of it, for working drawings. I cannot bear that you should be bothered on the subject.' Mr. E. Pugin twice describes this as an application to his father for working drawings for [*the completion of**] the Clock Tower, omitting the context. I would ask any candid person if confidential letters so treated cannot be made to prove anything.

"The fact is, as I believe, Sir Charles's letter does not refer to the Clock Tower at all, but to *the Clock Tower and front in Old Palace Yard*. The great Clock Tower was not finished till 1857, and Sir Charles could not therefore have represented it in 1852 as waiting for drawings for its *completion*. On the other hand Sir Charles was, as I remember, designing at this time the Old Palace Yard front, and, in his Diary of February, 1852, I find a reference of his being engaged on '*the clock and tower in Old Palace Yard*.'

"The central feature of this front was always intended by

* These words, though italicised by Mr. E. Pugin, as if quoted from Sir Charles's letter, do not appear therein.

Sir Charles to be a clock tower, as he found that the great clock could not be seen from this portion of the Palace. At the time the letter was written, Sir Charles intended to have carried up the centre rather higher, so as to be more of a tower than it is at present, but it now displays the face for the clock which he intended to place in it. Mr. Pugin may, under his arrangement with the contractors, have had something to do with the tiles, stained glass, and metal-work, of this part, as of other portions of the Palace, though from the dates hereafter given, this is scarcely possible; but with the design of the building he had nothing whatever to do. All the working drawings for it, from the foundations to the roof, were prepared in the office by myself and under my directions. I saw my father make the original sketches, from which we worked, and discussed, from time to time, every feature with him. I particularly remember suggesting the advancement of 7 or 9 bays in the centre, with a cloister over the footway. He sketched out this and other designs, but his rooted dislike to advanced centres resumed its sway, and he retained the present straight front, only consenting so to recess the alternate bays, as to get more light and shade than he originally contemplated. The heraldic and carved details were, in all cases, modelled and carved by Mr. Thomas from Sir Charles's designs.

"A few dates will make this clear. Mr. Pugin was seized by his sad malady prior to 1852, and the melancholy necessity arose of placing him under restraint on the 25th Feb., 1852. My father's studies for the Old Palace Yard Front, *which I saw him make, and which I now possess*, are dated March, 1852. The details were all got out by myself and others in the office; and are thus dated—'Basement, May, 1852; Ground Floor, 'Dec. 1852; Principal Floor, April, 1853;' and so on. As Mr. E. Pugin is anxious that I should give him dates, I have much pleasure in doing so.

"Having now dealt with my father's letters published by Mr. E. W. Pugin, I proceed to comment on a statement of his own that he saw his father make the design for the present false ceiling of the House of Commons. It happens that I possess this design, which is in pencil and drawn from first to last by my father. The drawing contains a plan and sections of the upper part of the House of Commons to a scale of 4 feet to an inch, with elevations of the end and side completely filled in. There are also sections of all the mouldings *one quarter full-size*. Full directions for every part of the work are written on the drawing

in my father's handwriting. I well remember his doing it, and his taking it to Thames Bank, and as it is fortunately in pencil, his touch can be recognised at once. I perfectly recollect the circumstances under which it was made, and my father explaining to me an ingenious arrangement he proposed for obtaining a large amount of sectional area for the ventilating apertures. This arrangement, which has been carried out, consisted of fixing the panels to double ceiling joists, several inches apart, and lowering the ribs below the face of the panels by means of blocks corresponding with the carved bosses. The vitiated air passed through the aperture thus formed behind the ribs and between the ceiling joists. The drawing was not inked-in because of pressure of time, but it was given to me, and its details were worked out by me and others in the office, and are shown on our drawings for the alteration of the House of Commons, dated Sept., Oct., and Nov. 1850.

"It is only as a specimen of Mr. E. Pugin's inaccuracy that this circumstance is worth referring to, for there can be little honour to be gained from the design of this unsightly mutilation of my father's work, which he always considered had been forced on him with unnecessary precipitation, and ever regarded with intense dissatisfaction.

"I will now supply Mr. E. Pugin with some more dates. The Clock Tower was not finished, as I have before said, until 1857; the Central Tower in 1855; and the Victoria Tower was unfinished when my father died, in 1860. Mr. E. W. Pugin represents Sir Charles to be seeking from his father drawings for 'the completion of the Clock Tower' in 1852, five years before such drawings were needed. Assuming for the sake of argument that such drawings were asked for and given (*which they were not*), the tower as it is now executed cannot, even on that supposition, be the tower which Mr. Pugin designed. Between 1852 and 1857, my father designed the tower over and over again; his designs were modelled by Mr. Mabey, and again and again laid aside. In his Diaries I find repeatedly such entries as—

1852. Oct. 22.—On studies of Clock and Central Towers for models.

1853. Feb. 7.—On details of Victoria and Clock Towers.

,, April 30.—On working drawings of Clock Tower. Gave orders for model.

,, Aug. 22.—On details of design for Clock Tower. Instructing Mabey as to model.

,, Sept. 19.—On modification of design for Clock Tower, giving orders for model, and to Thomas as to statues.

1853. Sept. 16.—Giving orders to Quarm for modifying design for Clock Tower, and orders to Mabey accordingly.
1854. Jan. 7.—At working drawings of Clock Tower.
- „ April 11.—On sketches for roof of Clock Tower.
- „ Dec. 11.—Correcting working drawings for top of Central Tower. Gave Quarm design for top for modelling.
1855. Feb. 5.—Making drawing for varying top of Clock Tower.
- „ Sept. 26.—On design for dormers of Clock Tower.
- „ Sept. 27.—On design for dial for Clock Tower.
- „ Nov. 27.—On design for top of Victoria Tower, &c., &c., &c.

These selections are made from hundreds of similar entries from 1836 to 1860, and prove the time and infinite study which my father gave to every detail of his work. Yet this is the man whom Mr. E. Pugin wishes to hand down to posterity as obtaining designs from another architect, surreptitiously copying them, and then going forth to the world in borrowed plumes. During all the years I have named I was not only his professional representative, but I lived at home both then and previously, and knew all he did, working late and early, the first in the house to rise, the last to go to bed. I now possess many of the designs referred to in the above extracts. They differ widely from each other, and are without an exception drawn by Sir Charles himself, in many cases in pencil in his usual beautiful style. He was incessantly engaged upon them, and never left a new idea untried, so that at no time during the years that elapsed between Mr. Pugin's death and the completion of the tower could I have confidently predicted the appearance it would ultimately assume. The same remarks would apply to the other towers, and all other parts of the building. My father not only designed but drew out himself in detail the whole of the ornamental iron-work on the top of the Clock Tower, and I have his working drawing which is very large, to the scale of one inch to the foot, with every detail correctly shown upon it. I recollect Mr. Powell's coming from Messrs. Hardman, and taking orders direct from my father for all this work. I have spoken of my own knowledge of all that took place in his office after 1850. As regards the preceding period I must rely on other evidence, but it would require extraordinary testimony to convince me that my father was at one time a willing copyist and slavish adopter of other men's ideas, and at another the most earnest, painstaking, and fastidious designer I have ever known, requiring, as Mr. Pugin himself tells us, to see before he was satisfied ten ways of doing the same thing.

"I have avoided saying anything on the other questions raised by Mr. E. Pugin, which refer to a period beyond his own and my personal experience, and I will not follow his example of pressing hearsay evidence into the question.* I have spoken of that which I know, and, if further evidence be needed, I can refer to the following gentlemen, who can corroborate my statements—Mr. Meeson, Mr. Kerr, Mr. Deville, Mr. Pressland, Mr. P. G. Smith, my father's assistants in his office with me; Mr. Quarm and Mr. Ruddle, the clerks of works; Mr. Mabey the modeller, and others.

"I wish to add one word, in conclusion, as to the work that was really done by Pugin, and the advantages to the building derived from his great talent. I have been most reluctantly drawn into this controversy by Mr. E. Pugin, not because I fear to meet his assertions, but because it is difficult to do so without conveying an erroneous impression to outsiders, that in defining what his father really did, I seek in any way to depreciate his services. This I have never done and never will do. I have always thought that Pugin has received less than his due as a pioneer in the revival of Gothic architecture; and, although some works of to-day may seem to many superior to the best works of Pugin, it should never be forgotten that Pugin's genius, energy and zeal have helped to make them possible. His knowledge of Gothic detail was greater than my father's, and he thus became foremost of all in assisting him with his great work in his own special department. It is, however, no disparagement of Pugin's genius to say that the work as a whole was beyond his grasp, and differs in every particular from what would have been expected from him.

* As a specimen of Mr. E. Pugin's mode of controversy, I may refer to p. 34 of his pamphlet, where, after having isolated an expression of mine from its context, from my previous explanations, and the subsequent correspondence, he thinks it not unbecoming to accuse me of saying what is "positively false," and (in a further issue) "wilfully untrue." Again, in the Appendix, he states that he believes we still possess and detain letters which we have assured him we have never seen or heard of. Controversy under such circumstances is impossible; and I can only leave the question of the credit due to our respective statements to the decision of those who know us both. Mr. E. Pugin further says of himself, p. 32:—"I began working in my father's office when I was but *seven years old*, and I have a distinct recollection of seeing and "being engaged on designs for the Houses of Parliament from 1844." He has certainly the advantage of me in the earliness of his reminiscences, and of his hitherto unknown services, for he must have been about ten years old in 1844. His statement, however, is directly contradicted by Mr. Talbot Bury, p. 96.

Pugin fully recognised this, and says in one of his letters (quoted hereafter), '*I can do you no service except in absolute detail,*' and however Mr. E. Pugin may take exception to his father's words, they are perfectly true. But, within the limits traced out by himself and explained in his letters now published, Pugin's help was invaluable. His fancy, fertility of pencil, and treasure of precedents were inexhaustible and freely drawn upon. Any competent architect can go through the Palace, and see at a glance where Pugin's hand is visible, and, though I must altogether reject Mr. E. Pugin's unauthorised claim that his father was in any sense of the word architect of the Westminster Palace, I must cheerfully admit that the work owes much to his genius, and shall always consider the connection between my father and Pugin equally honourable to both and advantageous to the public.

"Yours, &c.

"EDWARD M. BARRY."

The subjoined letter is simply confirmatory of the above, though written previously:

"New Wimbledon Road, Merton, S., Jan. 6th, 1868.

"DEAR SIR,—I see in the pamphlet recently issued by Mr. Pugin a portion of a letter by the late Sir Charles Barry (numbered 35, and dated Feb. 23rd, 1852), which appears intended to give the impression to a casual reader that Sir Charles was dependent upon Mr. Pugin for the design and working drawings of the front in Old Palace Yard as well as for some portion of the Clock Tower.

"Such an impression would be entirely erroneous. I was in Sir Charles Barry's office in 1852 and following years, and with others there, under Mr. Edward Barry's guidance; and, with constant reference to Sir Charles in person, I assisted in preparing most of the general drawings, and the whole of the details for the front in Old Palace Yard, and this was done solely from sketches and details by Sir Charles Barry's own hand. I was equally engaged on the upper half of the stonework of the Clock Tower and its roof, yet I did not, either at the commencement or during the progress of these works see a single sketch or detail from Mr. Pugin's pencil, save for stained glass or ornamental metal finishings.

"It is clear to myself therefore that the letter No. 35, simply owns in Mr. Pugin a valued assistant, but nothing more.

"I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

"Rev. A. Barry, D.D."

"EDWARD C. PRESSLAND.

I add also a letter from Mr. Bayne, respecting the roof of the House of Commons made under his direction at the Thames Bank workshops.

“16A, Great Smith Street, Westminster, January 20th, 1868.

“SIR,—I remember Sir Charles Barry bringing to me at Thames Bank the pencil drawing of the false ceiling of the House of Commons. I suggested several practical modes of constructing the ribs, and Sir Charles and I settled all the details together. Mr. Pugin had nothing whatever to do with it, and I believe never saw it, except as regards the pendants, upon the details of which Sir Charles consulted him; the design of the pendants is, however, clearly shown on Sir Charles's own drawing.

“I am, Sir, yours truly,

“E. M. Barry, Esq.”

“RD. BAYNE.

I think that these communications will dispose of these last quotations and statements of Mr. E. W. Pugin.

I have been forced to examine all these letters in what may seem wearisome detail, because they are *absolutely the only evidence deserving the name*, which Mr. E. W. Pugin gives to support the latter part of his charge.

I am not therefore surprised that, feeling how entirely the letters here quoted (39 out of, as I learn from his solicitors, a much larger number) fail to prove his point, he is forced to lay great stress on certain letters, which he states that he lent to Sir C. Barry in 1852, under a promise to return them, which was never kept. Of this subject a full examination may be found in the Appendix. All I am concerned to notice here is this—that, supposing all Mr. E. W. Pugin's statement accurate, it has at best a secondary force. Inferences as to what those letters may have contained cannot stand for a moment against the positive testimony, which it will be my duty to bring forward.

(I.) First and foremost comes Mr. A. W. Pugin's own letter of 1845, to which reference has so often been made.

“SIR,—As it appears by an article in the last number of the ‘Builder,’ as well as in notices contained of late in other periodicals, that a misconception prevails as to the nature of my

employment in the works of the New Palace at Westminster, I think it incumbent on me, in justice to Mr. Barry, to state that I am engaged by him, and by him alone, with the approval of the Government, to assist in preparing working drawings and models from his designs of all the wood-carvings and other details of the internal decorations, and to procure models and drawings of the best examples of ancient decorative art of the proper kind, wherever they are to be found, as specimens for the guidance of the workmen in respect of the taste and feeling to be imitated; to engage with artists and the most skilful workmen that can be procured in every branch of decorative art; and to superintend personally the practical execution of the works upon the most economical terms, compatible with the nature of it and its most perfect performance. In fulfilling the duties of my office, I do not do anything whatever on my own responsibility; all models and working drawings being prepared from Mr. Barry's designs, and submitted to him for his approval or alteration, previous to their being carried into effect; in fine, my occupation is simply to assist in carrying out practically Mr. Barry's own designs and views in all respects. Trusting to your fairness in giving insertion to this letter in your next number,

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"*London, Sept. 3rd, 1845.*"

"A. WELBY PUGIN.

To this letter Mr. E. W. Pugin has devoted some pages of elaborate pleading. But it cannot be explained away: even if it stood alone, no ingenuity could evade its plain meaning. It originated in Mr. Pugin's own suggestion, as will be clearly seen below; it was drawn up, after consultation with his friend Mr. Talbot Bury, and subsequent reference to Mr. Barry and Mr. Wolfe, in order to put a stop, once for all, to certain rumours, attributing to Mr. Pugin more than his proper share in the actual work of the New Palace. Mr. E. W. Pugin has remarked that it makes no reference to the authorship of the competition designs. Of course, it does not: for no question had ever been raised upon that subject. Ten years had elapsed since these drawings were made, and no one had ever dreamt of referring to them any other hand than Mr. Barry's. But on the engagement of Mr. Pugin upon the actual work.

it was inevitable (as I have said elsewhere) that rumours should arise, exaggerating the amount of his service and influence. My father deliberately risked this danger, for the value of help which he thought highly beneficial to the public service, knowing that Mr. A. W. Pugin would not arrogate to himself any undue credit, and never supposing that any of his representatives would do what he would have scorned even to think of. It is perfectly futile to endeavour to explain it away, as "written under pressure" and "to save "Sir C. Barry's reputation."* It is a reflection on Mr. A. W. Pugin's character to suppose that he would publicly tell a falsehood, because previous fraudulent arrangements required it. It is strange that his son should think that he thus honours his name; and equally strange that he should not already have seen, that this denial does not stand alone, but is only one of many denials on his part testified to by unexceptionable witnesses.

But I am able now to say that it does not stand alone, even among written documents. In searching for the letters above referred to on the demand of Mr. E. W. Pugin, my father's executors have discovered a few letters of Mr. A. W. Pugin's, of the existence of which we were unaware.† They are private letters, written confidentially, where no pressure could be used, and no conventional saving of appearances demanded. I think the quotation of a few of these will set the question at rest for ever:—

* This has been done, on the authority of a Mrs. Mares, in the 'Times' of Sept. 15th; and Mr. E. W. Pugin is very angry because I claimed that "her antecedents be examined and her credibility be tested by cross-examination,"—to which (I added) "we are perfectly willing to submit our own evidence." He chooses to infer that this is a "reflection on her character." But this inference, like some others, is perfectly unwarrantable. Mrs. Mares does not specify her claims to be considered as an authority, nor has Mr. E. W. Pugin supplied the omission. Her evidence is flatly contradicted by Mr. Talbot Bury (see pp. 96, 97); it is irreconcilable with Mr. A. Pugin's own letters. What other course, except the one which I suggested, can be followed, if we would establish the truth?

† Notice of this discovery was instantly given to Mr. E. W. Pugin; opportunity of verifying the letters offered; and copies promised, if he, on his part, would give us copies of all letters of Sir C. Barry's in his possession. The offer was curtly refused.

[Endorsed by Sir C. B., 16th June, 1844.]

(a)

"Nottingham, Thursday.

"MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—On Saturday last I was suddenly seized with an attack of English cholera, which has prostrated me, and I can hardly hold myself up at all. I am getting better now, that is, the actual complaint is stopped, but I never was more pulled down. I got your letter at Nottingham. *I am sure I can never do you real service except in absolute detail; you should fully make up your mind as to every arrangement and then turn the small work over to me.* It is next to impossible for me to design any abstract portion of a great whole in the same spirit as you have conceived the rest, and I know it is only a waste of time in me to attempt it. As to the bratishing above panelling, I could make fifty patterns, and same for pendants, &c., which should mostly consist of figures. The stalls at Amiens would furnish an infinite variety for the position of figures in pendants, holding scrolls, &c., and these can only be done at Louvain by the Flemings, the same men who executed the stalls at Antwerp. I can do you far more service by adopting the best examples and getting them carried out in execution than by making a lot of drawings which could never be worked from. *Remember, I never made a drawing which was of any real use to you yet, and it is a dreadful loss of time to me, incessantly occupied as I am with Church work, to attempt it; as I said before, I can do you no good except in actual detail, and in that more by ferreting out the fine things that exist than composing new ones.* I expect to be in town by Tuesday, and will come over to you immediately, that is, if I am strong enough to travel.

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"A. WELBY PUGIN.

"You must go to Antwerp and Louvain this year. If you wished it particularly, I might manage to go with you, as I know the men."

I make no comment on this letter, except to call attention to the passages which I have italicized, and to ask any reader whether such passages could have been written if a tithe of Mr. E. W. Pugin's assertions were correct.

(b) The next letter is written in 1845; the first few sentences alone are important, because they refer to a main principle of the design as emphatically Mr. Barry's own, and as one against which the writer had protested as a matter of theory:—

[Postmark 5 Aug., 1845.]

“*Basel, August 1.*”

“There is nothing I have seen to compare to Basel, except Nuremberg. Lots of fine iron work—such clocks in leaden turrets! Do not you envy me?”

“MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—I have arrived safe at Basel, and begin to return on Saturday. I have seen a great deal in a little time, and much that will be applicable to the great work. After all there will be nothing like it, for the largest of the old works are small in comparison, and not half so well carried out; and *I must own that I think you are right in the principle of repetition of bays*. All the great town-halls are certainly so, and I have paid particular attention to this point. *You know I never hold out after I am convinced, and now I can advocate it conscientiously*. The best modern architecture I have seen is the railway from Mannheim to Strasbourg. The stations are beautiful—all constructive principle. If the roofs had a higher pitch, they would be almost perfect. I have seen some splendid metal-work in brass and iron, and have taken a fresh supply from the fountain of mediæval antiquity; you ought really to be forced away for two weeks to this country, it would do you a world of good, and you would fetch up the actual time afterwards. Remember life ebbs away, and every year some fine old thing is destroyed. You ought, as a positive duty, come to these countries now and then. I am so up to everything that I could give you such directions that would enable you to see a vast deal even in two weeks. I expect to be back about the 19th of this month, and I shall come direct to you. I left them plenty of work at Thames Bank well explained, so I think they will get on well till I return. If you decide on the upper tracery panels it will make a deal of work both for joiners and carvers. I thought you would be glad to know where I was, and therefore I have sent you these few lines, and I only wish I could persuade you to follow my example. There is a great deal of fine old heraldry about the buildings in Basel and in Alsace. I see so much that I did not know of at all, that it really appears as if we know less the longer one studies; and I suppose, by the time one is very knowing indeed, we shall be almost past profiting by the knowledge.

“Am yours most sincerely,

“A. WELBY PUGIN.”

(c) The third has no date of any kind; but is evidently

written at the time of his appointment (at a salary of 200*l.* a year) to superintend the wood-carving. As Mr. E. Pugin has represented this appointment as an attempt to secure independence against Mr. Barry, it is important to observe how entirely he considered himself not as independent of the architect, but responsible to him and to him alone. (I may add that the salary and other payments much more considerable, generally passed through my father's hands):—

“*Saturday (Post-mark Amiens).*

“MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—1. By to-morrow, Monday's, night coach, I will send you all the detail drawings in pencil for the three rooms you give me: general portions $1\frac{1}{2}$ scale, details real size. I hope they will be what you wish.

“2. You will find a rough pattern crown in London to offer up for the west front; it was delivered to Mr. Groves, the clerk of works.

“3. I want another order like the last to send off with another man to squeeze.

“4. I purpose coming to London next week and see after the carvers.

“5. I gave Wailes a good blowing up for his heavy glass and bad greens, and he has offered to finish another specimen on a different principle at his own cost, to which I have agreed. It will be well to think of some of the square badges for the river front windows.

“*As we have now begun in good earnest with the work, I wish to state exactly my views on the subject to prevent any misunderstanding.* First, for the 200*l.* a year, I agree to furnish drawings and instructions for all the carved ornaments in wood that may be required. Secondly, that all travelling expenses whatever connected with the above work are to be paid extra to that sum. My residence being at Ramsgate, my journeys to London must be considered as travelling expenses, and paid accordingly, unless I am compelled to take the journey for other purposes not connected with the work. Thirdly, I am empowered to send persons to collect squeezes, &c., and all expenses connected with that object, or the purchase of original models, to be paid from time to time according to the accounts I will furnish you, and all journeys which I make for the purpose of finding out proper models. Fourthly, all drawings for glass, metal works, and tiles, &c., will be paid for in the estimates of the same,

according to the rates we agreed. Fifthly, you must include the expense of preparing these detail drawings in the estimate of the fittings, and I will furnish you with the cost of them as you may require. Sixthly, *I am only responsible to you in all matters connected with the work. I act as your agent entirely, and have nothing to do with any other person.*

"I mention these things that we may have a perfect understanding at starting, for it is a great work and will occupy the greater part of my time. There will be upwards of 1000 detail drawings of ornaments for the carvers in the House of Lords alone; but I need not speak of these matters to you, who know as well as I do what is required, only I mean to devote all my energy to the business, and, of course, it must answer my purpose. I have increased my shop at Ramsgate, so that I shall be able to have all the figures and difficult parts modelled under my own eye; this will cost me about 200*l.*, but I don't mind expense and trouble if we can obtain a good result.

"I expect the railing will be in London by the time I come up, so that a compartment may be tried.

"You will see in the drawings of Peers' Conference Room I have indicated stencilling in the panels of ceiling. I think you should introduce this, it is so easy and cheap, and yet so effective for inscriptions, &c. "Ever yours, most sincerely,

"WELBY PUGIN."

(*d*) The fourth and fifth letters are the most decisive of all. The former is undated (except "Saturday"); the latter, evidently following it, has postmark "Ramsgate, June 12th, "1845" (Thursday). They most effectually dispose of the extraordinary theory, set up in order to explain away Mr. A. W. Pugin's published letter of 1845:—

"*Morning Steamer, Saturday.*

"MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—Since I saw you last night, I have been informed that some most exaggerated statements respecting the nature of my employment at the Palace of Westminster have appeared in one of the papers. I need not tell you how distressed and annoyed I feel at it, for I have always been most careful to prevent any misconception on this head. I have most distinctly stated that I was engaged *by you and for you** to carry out into practical execution the minor details of the deco-

* The italics here are in the original.

rations according to your designs, that I did nothing *whatever on my own responsibility, that everything was submitted to be approved or altered by you*; that in fine, my occupation was simply to carry out your views in the practical execution of the internal detail. I can assure you, I wish to serve you in this work with the greatest fidelity; no one can better appreciate your skill and judgment than myself, and no man has ever borne more sincere and willing testimony to them than myself. Now, if you think right, I will make a formal denial of these statements to put an end to all nonsense. I have not seen the article, but Mr. Crace told me that one of your clerks had mentioned it to him; it will therefore be easy to know when and where it appeared, and I really think it would be as well to state the real state of the case. I will send you my contradiction for your approval. I am sure you know me too well to imagine that such statements would give me anything but great pain and annoyance; but I should like at once to disabuse the public, and let them know the true nature of my employment at the Palace. Pray let me hear from you about this.

"I sent yesterday a whole cart-load of casts from Thames Bank to the works at Westminster. I hope all these will be taken great care of, that they may be united in one great collection when they are done with, and they may form the commencement of a great national gallery of Art.

"Ever yours, most sincerely,

"WELBY PUGIN.

"I see in the 'Times' this morning that Reid and Barry (!!!) came in for their share of blame in the Lords."

[*Postmark of Ramsgate, June 12th, 1845.*]

"MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—1. I enclose you what I think will be a sufficient contradiction, and being short and simply worded is more likely to answer its object.

"2. I have at last succeeded to my entire satisfaction in the enamel colouring of the armorial plates; the enamel is now sunk below the surface in hollows, and the effect is very rich and good. You will soon have a perfect panel up. I think we shall do this time.

"3. I have found some unforeseen difficulties in setting out the full-sized drawings of the tiles according to your alteration.

The double squares come in very badly when reduced to the stern reality of square, and the inscription letters, now they are enlarged, won't come in at all. I will send you all my difficulties set out. I wish Lord Brougham had to set it out himself. I expect I shall hear about the stained windows to-morrow.

“Ever yours, most sincerely,

“WELBY PUGIN.

“The ‘Builder’ has now a rather extended circulation, and amongst that class of people whom we would not wish to be wrongly informed on the subject. But I leave the matter entirely in your hands.

“There are now ten additional carvers at Thames Bank, all on the ceiling. Do you approve of the panels I last sent you?”

[ENCLOSURE.]

“SIR,—My attention having been drawn to an erroneous paragraph, which appeared in your journal, relative to the nature of my employment at the New Palace at Westminster, I take an early opportunity of stating that I am not engaged in any work connected with that building on my own responsibility, but am simply superintending the practical execution of the internal details and decorations of Mr. Barry's design. Nothing is done without his entire knowledge and approbation, nor is anything put into execution that has not been previously arranged and designed by himself.

“I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“*To the Editor of* .”

“WELBY PUGIN.

It will be seen, by the first letter, that the notion of denial arose in Mr. Pugin's own mind, without any communication with Mr. Barry; that he himself suggested taking some public steps, and offered to send for approval a formal contradiction. It will be seen, by the second letter, that Mr. A. W. Pugin actually does (what Mr. E. W. Pugin suggests that he would have done, were our statements true) “write himself a plain “straight-forward letter, absolutely denying the truth of the “report.” I presume that my father did not at this time accept the offer so unhesitatingly made. Subsequently on a revival of the report, the letter of Sept. 6th, 1845 was written—differing from Mr. A. W. Pugin's own proposed form, only in stating

more emphatically what Mr. Pugin did actually do, and being certainly less trenchant and emphatic. I do not know whether any impartial person ever has accepted Mr. E. W. Pugin's theory as to the letter; but, if so, his acceptance will hardly survive the comparison of the private and public documents. These last quotations will (I think) be sufficient to show how entirely consistent Mr. A. W. Pugin was in his description of his actual work at the New Palace. I may add that the letters generally are those of a confidential and important subordinate.

These letters, being private communications, I print reluctantly, because the publication of my father's letters has made it absolutely necessary to do so. They are sufficient in themselves to demolish Mr. E. W. Pugin's elaborate fabric. When Mr. A. W. Pugin, in letters private and confidential, declares that he "can do no service except in absolute detail," and that "he never yet made a drawing which was of real "use," that Mr. Barry "must make up his mind to every "arrangement," and that he "acts as Mr. Barry's agent," "doing nothing on his own responsibility"—when he voluntarily offers to publish the statement that "his employment "at the New Palace," is "simply superintending the practical "execution of the internal details and decoration of Mr. "Barry's design"—it is an insult to common sense to assert that he was the real "Art-Architect" of the building, and that he and his correspondent were engaged in a fraudulent attempt to conceal the truth.

(II.) I hardly know whether any further evidence can be actually required. But it is necessary to put on record, once for all, the testimony of men intimately acquainted with every portion of the work really done. I subjoin accordingly, first, a statement from Mr. Wolfe, corresponding to that made by him under the former head; and another from my brother, Mr. Charles Barry, who was then acting as my father's assistant. These will give the testimony of those who saw my father's own private work. I add next a series

of letters from those who saw the same work, both in course of preparation in the office, and in its actual execution. These letters are from the following gentlemen, all of whom were my father's assistants, many of whom are now architects of extensive practice and high reputation :—Mr. R. R. Banks, Mr. John Gibson, Mr. G. S. Clarke, Mr. Brakspear, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Wright, and Mr. F. H. Groves; from Mr. Grissell, Sir M. Peto, and Mr. Field, the contractors for the work of the buildings; from Mr. Quarm, for many years chief clerk of the works; from Mr. Bayne, the superintendent of the Government Works at Thames Bank, and from Mr. Philip and Mr. Clayton, who were connected with the detailed work carried out there; from Mr. Mabey, who modelled over and over again every important part of the building, and from Mr. Garland, who made out the full-sized models for the carvers.

It will be obvious, from a mere inspection of this list, that the writers are men, whose names are a sufficient guarantee for the truth and the accuracy of their statements. It is impossible that such a transaction as that which Mr. E. Pugin imagines could have taken place without their knowledge, and I do not think that he will venture to question the truthfulness of their evidence.

PART II.

“No sooner was Barry appointed architect of the Houses of Parliament than, important alterations having been resolved on, he had entirely to remodel his original design. In architectural features, this second design was not essentially different from the first; and, like the first, it was, to my knowledge, made by Barry himself without assistance from Pugin.

“But as careful estimates were about to be prepared, Pugin was engaged to make drawings of details (some of which I recently saw) on a scale necessary for the information of the surveyors.

“In making this second set of details, Pugin had not only Barry's own drawings and directions to assist him, but all the main lines of his work were set out for him. In a bay of the

river front, for instance, he had the height and width of the bay, the level of the cornice, string courses and other horizontal lines, and the position, size, and general design of the windows. Thus he had nothing to do but to draw his outlines from these data and then fill in the detail of mouldings and tracery; and, where required, the heraldic and other details merely ornamental.

“The estimates were finally completed, I think, in 1837, and up to that time Pugin may have been engaged in making explanatory drawings. But whatever work Pugin may have done on this second design, certain it is it shared the fate of his labours on the first. All were swept away by the formation of a third and final design, so different in character from those preceding it that every drawing, even of their details, was rendered useless. Yet this, the design executed, of which I myself witnessed the introduction of every important feature, was made, drawn out, and in progress of execution, during the very years when, according to Mr. E. W. Pugin’s own statement, his father was not in communication with Barry. So that when Pugin resumed his employment under Barry, he had nothing to do but to carry out the works specified in his letter of 1845. Of all his previous labours, not a trace exists in the Houses of Parliament.*

“Mr. E. W. Pugin has stated that in 1837, his father, being disgusted because the execution of his designs had been entrusted to Mr. Thomas, became estranged from Barry and refused to work for him till he had received a direct appointment from Government.

“Now of this estrangement neither have I, nor has any member of Barry’s family, the slightest recollection, and we do not believe that, at least on Barry’s side, it ever existed. But certainly it could not have been brought about by the cause assigned by Mr. E. W. Pugin; for not in 1837, nor till some years later, had Barry any drawings by Pugin—applicable to the work in progress—nor did he then regard Thomas as more than a clever stone-carver.

“Pugin, for some years, ceased to work for Barry—but it

* Many of the most important alterations in the design were made by Barry while he was staying with me in the country, in the autumn of 1838; and for many years afterwards the people of the house we lodged in used to show their guests “the very table on which Mr. Barry and his friend drew the Parliament “House.” Other changes were made by Barry in my own house, to which he occasionally retired for uninterrupted study.

was for this simple reason, there was no work for him to do ; and it was not till about the time when he received his appointment under Government that his services were again required. It is true that some time after Pugin had been at work, Barry, finding that serious inconvenience and delay were caused by Pugin's absence and uncertain movements, did give direct instructions to Thomas, who was always on the spot, to proceed with the stone-carving. Pugin may have been annoyed at this, but he continued for a long time afterwards to superintend the other works mentioned in his letter of 1845.

"With regard to this letter, I will explain that up to a short time before it was written, Barry had never thought it necessary even to suggest to Pugin a disclaimer of his having had any hand in designing the Houses of Parliament. For he well knew that Pugin himself had never failed to contradict any rumour to that effect (and sometimes, as I knew, in his usual forcible language) whenever and wherever they reached him. But when, in the course of a debate in the House of Lords, a peer happened to speak of Pugin as "joint-architect," both Pugin and Barry thought it expedient to publish the letter of 1845.

"But in drawing up this letter, it never occurred to any of the parties concerned to re-assert Barry's title, as against Pugin's, to the authorship of the original design for the Parliament Houses ; for that title, having been for ten years undisputed, was considered indisputable ; and surely if there had been any tenable ground for disputing it, it could not have escaped the keen eyes of disappointed competitors. But although they did not fail to perceive, and to make the most of, the fact that some of Barry's drawings had been prepared by Pugin, they never ventured to ascribe the design to him. For in truth, although the hand of Pugin was plainly visible, the most lynx-eyed critic could not detect a trace of his mind.*

"Mr. E. W. Pugin, finding that large sums were occasionally paid to his father by Barry, assumes that they must have been paid as the remuneration for services of a more valuable kind than has yet been acknowledged. But the fact is, that all the large sums mentioned by Mr. E. W. Pugin were paid at dates

* As to an extraordinary statement made by a Mrs. Mares, that, immediately after writing his letter of 1845, Pugin bitterly complained to her that he had been forced to disclaim what was really his due, I can only say that statement is altogether at variance with the sentiments Pugin just at this time expressed to myself and others.

subsequent to his father's appointment by Government, and were paid for works specified in his letter of 1845, some of which, the purchase of casts, for instance, required a considerable outlay. The money was entered by the bankers as paid by Barry because, to the best of my recollection, the payments made by Government for Pugin's services passed through Barry's hands.*

* As much stress has been laid on this matter by Mr. E. W. Pugin, I sub-join a copy of the counterfoils of the cheques paid to Mr. A. W. Pugin, from 1844-1852 :—

				£	s.	d.
1844.						
Oct. 5th.	A. W. Pugin, N. H. P.	...	...	50	0	0
1845.						
June 18th.	Expenses in Carving Dept.	...	...	223	13	0
Nov. 25th.	On account of Cartoons for Stained Glass for	H. of Lords		100	0	0
1846.						
January.	Thames Bank. Acct. of A. W. Pugin for	Carving Expenses		146	6	0
Feb. 16th.	Pugin, to his account at London & Westr. Bank,	on acct. of Exps.		200	0	0
May 14th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq. Balance due on acct. of	Exps. at Thames Bank to Dec. 25, 1845		148	12	6
May 23rd.	N. H. P. A. W. Pugin, Esq. Balance of	Account for Expenses to May 16th last (re- paid by Office of Works)		135	10	0
Aug. 15th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq.	Half year to July 6th	...	100	0	0
Nov. 10th.	,,	On account	...	100	0	0
1847.						
Aug. 24th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq.	Cartoons for windows of	H. of Lords	50	0	0
Oct. 16th.	,,	On acct. of Stained Glass	...	50	0	0
1848.						
Jan. 14th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq.	On acct. of Cartoons, &c.	...	100	0	0
March 28th.	,,	,,	...	100	0	0
April 28th.	,,	Balance for 'Casts from	Amiens... ..	104	0	0
June 9th.	,,	On acct. of Cartoons, &c.	...	100	0	0
July 20th.	,,	Half year to Midrsr.	...	97	1	8
Aug. 20th.	,,	On acct. H. of Lords Cartoons	...	150	0	0
Oct. 30th.	,,	On further acct. of	,,	200	0	0
1849.						
June 19th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq.	Balance for Cartoons for	Stained Glass	120	0	0
1852.						
Jan. 10th.	A. W. Pugin, Esq.	...	...	50	0	0

The whole amount paid was thus 2325*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* Of this, except the first and last cheques, 100*l.* in all, it is plainly shewn that all were *mere advances*, through Sir C. Barry, of public money, for the salary and expenses connected with the wood-carving and the cartoons for the stained glass.—A. B.

“But one of the most extraordinary statements made by Mr. E. W. Pugin is this, that his father assisted Barry in making designs for Trentham Hall.

“Now, with the exception of some alterations to the small church there, all the work Barry did at Trentham was Italian—a style in which, I believe, Pugin never drew a line, unless, perhaps, to give point to some of his humourous ‘contrasts.’ Indeed, he held Greek, Roman, and all their derivatives, in such utter abhorrence that when at Rome, as he once told me, he was looked upon as a heretic, for he denounced St. Peter’s itself as pagan. However Catholic Pugin may have been in other matters, in art he was undoubtedly a sectarist.

“There is one more point in Mr. E. W. Pugin’s statements, upon which I think it right to remark. He speaks of work done by his father for Barry at the Birmingham Grammar School, in terms which may lead some persons to suppose that he had a share in designing that building. But his work there was of precisely the same nature as that he did at Westminster. It was confined to drawings for fittings, furniture, and ornamental details. The designs for the building, like those for the Houses of Parliament, were made and worked out, even in structural details, by Barry alone; and on that, as on other similar occasions, I had full opportunity of watching the origin and progress of Barry’s ideas, from his first sketch to his perfect design.

“In conclusion, and in order to put a stop to all future assertion or insinuation that Pugin, after his return to work on the Houses of Parliament, had a share in designing any part of them, I declare, that up to the final completion of the building, every part, even the minute detail of the architecture, as distinguished from mere decoration, was designed by Barry alone. Abundance of Pugin’s work—and admirable work it is—may be seen throughout the building, but it is all of the kind described in his letter of 1845.

“The bays and attic of the river front, the two towers, in short, all the important parts of the building, were not only worked out by Barry in innumerable sketches and drawings, but they were, under his immediate and constant supervision, carefully modelled and remodelled in plaster. The models were kept *in sancto*, and there, locked in with his excellent modeller Mabey, and occasionally myself, Barry studied and finally settled every detail that could, in the slightest degree, affect his design—a likely man, truly, to adopt the designs of another!

“Mr. E. W. Pugin may persist in claiming for his father what his father, both in public and in private, refused to claim for himself. But by all persons who worked with or for Barry, and especially by myself, who knew not only what he did but what he thought, the assertion that Pugin, or any other person, had the slightest claim to share with Barry the credit of designing the Houses of Parliament must be declared preposterous.*

“The extraordinary statements which Mr. E. W. Pugin has thought proper to put forward and maintain, must have been made in utter ignorance of the facts, but such ignorance, considering the means at hand of ascertaining the truth, must surely be deemed inexcusable.

“JOHN L. WOLFE.

“20th September, 1867.”

PART III.

“Upon again considering Mr. Pugin’s statements, I notice one upon which, as it is possible it may have some influence on persons who have not studied Barry’s works chronologically, it may be worth while to make some remarks.

“We are told, that in order to be convinced it was from Pugin that Barry derived his knowledge of Gothic architecture, we have only to compare his earlier works, erected in the days of his ignorance, with his later works, designed under the guidance of a master. But with regard to his great work at Westminster we are spared the trouble of comparison, for Mr. E. W. Pugin has boldly asserted that it was the work, not of the advancing pupil, but of the master himself.

“Now, it was perfectly true of Barry, as of many other men eminent in art, that to the end of his days he was constantly learning. And, as from the study of books and buildings, so from his intercourse with Pugin, he derived much valuable knowledge, which unconsciously influenced his future works. But from neither books, buildings, nor men, was he ever known to copy. His mind was creative; and copying was repugnant to his nature.†

* Mr. E. W. Pugin has declared in one of his letters, that he does not accuse the witnesses opposed to him of wilful misrepresentation, but that they were not aware there was a secret influence at work by which Barry was constantly inspired and guided. But this influence must have been subtle indeed to have remained unknown to one who, by some of Barry’s assistants, was called his “familiar.”

† Mr. E. W. Pugin has admitted that “Barry was never satisfied till he had “seen ten different ways of doing one thing.” Is that the trait of a copyist?

“Barry was continually advancing in knowledge of his art ; and when he had to make his design for the Birmingham Grammar School, which, as I have stated in my former remarks, was completed without the aid of Pugin, he had already acquired a mastery in Gothic architecture which, with his habitually unceasing study, and the help of draughtsmen proficient in Gothic detail, might have enabled him to complete his Westminster Palace, as we now see it, without the aid of Pugin.

“When Pugin was first employed by Barry he was a young man (of three and twenty), little known except as the author of some excellent works on Gothic details. But what had he then done as an architect ? He may have completed his house near Salisbury, but that was not a work likely to have induced Barry to select him as his instructor. And what are the works upon which, even now, rests his reputation as an architect ? The most important of them is, I think, St. George’s Cathedral in Southwark. But who, with that work before him, can believe that its architect *could* have designed the Houses of Parliament ?

“The truth is, that neither Pugin nor Barry arrived at excellence *per saltum* ; and I have frequently heard them indulge in good-humoured banter of each other’s early works. Pugin sketching laughable caricatures of a Commissioner’s church, and Barry retorting with allusions to Pugin’s work at Windsor Castle—work of which he was so heartily ashamed, that he declared it ‘a crime he must expiate in purgatory.’

“But is it conceivable that Barry, who had, it is acknowledged, a master mind, could adopt the designs of an assistant whose principles in art were directly opposed to his own ? With Barry, order, symmetry and, above all, unity, were essential principles of composition in every design whose importance made grandeur attainable. But by Pugin, these principles were either disregarded or anathematized as heretical. Indeed, in the many discussions I had with him on the subject, I confess it appeared to me that his one essential to perfection, equally in men as in things, was this—*to be Gothic*.

“A *grande idée*, like Barry’s—a vast design, in which every feature was ‘but a part of one stupendous whole’—could have presented itself to Pugin’s imagination only as a nightmare. Barry, it is well-known, belonged to the classical school, Pugin to the school now in the ascendant, the romantic ; and if both

had been great poets instead of architects, Barry, perhaps, might have composed a 'Paradise Lost,' but Pugin 'Canterbury Tales.'*

"JOHN L. WOLFE.

"*September 26, 1867.*"

"I have read Mr. Pugin's pamphlet with attention, but I can find little more in it than he had previously put forward in numerous newspapers—nothing, in fact, that in any judicial inquiry would be received as evidence. His extracts from his father's diaries and Sir Charles Barry's letters prove no more than what has never been denied—that Pugin did much work for Barry, and that Barry appreciated both the work and the workman. But the assertion, that much of the work done consisted of original designs, rests merely on assumption, inference, hearsay, or tradition.

"I leave it to others to comment on the evidence hitherto adduced on either side. But I think it right to say that, when the above statements were written, I had held no communication with any of the witnesses, except those who were members of Sir Charles Barry's family. No number of witnesses could have altered a statement of facts that had occurred within my own knowledge and recollection.

"There is but very little I need add to my former statements, but as Mr. Pugin has asserted that almost the whole of the internal fittings of the Houses of Parliament was designed by his father, I must add, as to some important parts of those fittings in which I took particular interest, that the ceilings of the two Houses were the subject of frequent discussion between Barry and myself; and I can say, that the general designs, the arrangement of beams, brackets, and panelling, and even their sections, were the work of Barry himself; and when Pugin was employed to make the working drawings, he had little more to do than any architect in Barry's position must have delegated to a chief clerk.

"The throne was originally designed with a spire-like canopy of tabernacle-work; but fearing it would interfere with the frescoes to be placed above, Barry requested Pugin to draw out a throne in harmony with the general style of fittings he had determined to adopt. Pugin's design, which I well remember,

* While Barry was still in the zenith of his fame, his former rival, Cockerell, said to him, "Oh! Barry, you are now 'the favourite of the market,' but "mark my words, you may live to see yourself, like Soane and Smirke, out of "fashion."

had much the appearance of a heavy half-tester bedstead ; but Barry so altered it in proportion and arrangement of details, that when it was returned to Pugin to prepare the working drawings, little more remained of the original design than the general form.

“ JOHN L. WOLFE.

“ *December, 1867.*”

“ 1, *Westminster Chambers, S.W., 23 January, 1868.*

“ MY DEAR ALFRED,—I have read the statements of Mr. Wolfe which are to be published in the ‘Reply’ to Mr. E. Pugin’s pamphlet, and although they of course not only embrace the period on which I am able to speak, but a much earlier one, I yet feel that a few words from me will seem naturally to be expected, in relation to the time (1840 to 1847) during which I lived and worked at home continuously. During nearly the whole of this period, I was not only assisting in my father’s office on the drawings for the New Palace at Westminster, and others of his works (in company with my old friend and present partner Mr. Banks), but was also acting for him in the confidential relation of secretary, in which capacity I necessarily became aware of all his correspondence, and also with all his pecuniary transactions. I was also living at home, and with him, not only during official hours, but at all other times, seeing how in early morning and till late at night, he was devoting his every thought and energy to his works, among which of course his ‘Great Work’ took by far the largest share of his time. During the same time, I think I may venture to say, that the late Mr. Pugin never paid him a visit at which either I was not present, or with the nature of which I was unacquainted, and from this constant intercourse, I feel I am able to repeat with most perfect confidence all that I have said in my letters to the ‘Times.’ I mention these facts in order to show that I was placed in a position to give weight to my unhesitating assertion, that the extraordinary theory advanced by Mr. E. Pugin, that his father furnished Sir Charles at the outset, and from time to time, with designs which he, in some secret time and place, copied, and put forth as his own, deceiving thereby his own office assistants, is utterly an assumption on his part, and untrue in fact. It would have been physically *impossible* for such a course to have been followed without my knowledge (as is considerably suggested by Mr. E. Pugin),

during the years of which I speak; and since during that same time, the detailed designs of every part of so much of the building as was then in progress, were studied by my father, designed and re-designed over and over again by his own hand, and in my presence, modelled and re-modelled, till his critical taste was satisfied, it seems unnecessary to say more to establish his undoubted claim to the whole of the New Palace at Westminster with all its merits and demerits, as to which opinion seems at present divided.

“That Mr. Pugin was of essential service to my father as an accomplished master of all the details of Gothic architecture, and that he designed and drew out for execution much of the purely ornamental detail with which the building abounds, neither would I, nor any of us, hesitate to acknowledge; and further that his friendship, enthusiasm, and energy was constantly of the greatest comfort to my father, under the strain of mind and body put on him, is also most true: but that Pugin ever made a design, in the proper sense of that word, for the whole, or any important feature in the building as now existing, is equally untrue. It may suit Mr. E. Pugin speciously to urge, that the minor decorative details of a building in fact, by their aggregation, really constitute the building; but the hollowness of such an argument may safely be left to the judgment of any candid person, whether professional or amateur. It may safely be asked whether a building which is nobly designed in mass—well arranged as to plan—well proportioned in its exterior and interior features—depends mainly on its detail and decorations for its impressiveness and character; and whether it will not have all these effects, even were the detail poor or faulty. And the converse is equally true, that no amount of elaborate detail will redeem a building from ugliness and ill effect, if its proportions externally and internally are bad.

“With respect to the Great Work itself, taken as a whole, and with reference to the period at which it was executed, I have no fear that the dispassionate verdict of the majority of those able to judge, not only at present but also in future ages, will place it among the architectural marvels and triumphs of the world. Did I not feel this conviction, the thought that my father for it sacrificed ease, comfort, pecuniary benefits, health, and I may even say his life, would be inexpressibly sad; and it is almost too great a tax on my powers of self-command to

discuss at all calmly the claim now put forth by Mr. E. Pugin when both the principals are taken from us, both of whom could and, I am sure, would have been *one* in denying 'toto cœlo,' a claim, which is, as regards my father's fame and reputation, as cruel as it is untrue.

"With respect to the Victoria Tower, as to which Mr. Fergusson has lately hazarded the theory, that the change from its original design to its present shape might be due in some degree to Mr. Pugin's influence and devotion to elaborate detail, Mr. Wolfe's narrative of the long study and train of designs which were made for this great feature, and which gradually resolved themselves into the Tower as we now see it, will be sufficient answer. I can myself corroborate that narrative, as it relates to the time when, as I said, I was aware of all that was going on.

"I do not propose to discuss the question whether Mr. Fergusson's strictures upon it are correct or not, as each person who takes sufficient interest in it will form his own opinion; but for this, as for all other features of the design, I must repeat my assertion that Sir Charles, and no one else, is responsible.

"Yours, ever affectionately,

"CHARLES BARRY."

(III.) The following letters are those received by us from gentlemen actually engaged in carrying out the work of the New Palace under my father's direction, in daily and hourly communication with him. I could easily have increased the number, but I would admit *no letter which does not speak from intimate personal knowledge.*

The first are from his chief pupils and assistants:—

(a) "1, Westminster Chambers, Victoria-street, Westminster, S.W.,
"August 21, 1867.

"MY DEAR EDWARD BARRY,—Mr. Wolfe has shown me his letter to you respecting Mr. Pugin. I was, as you know, the head of your father's office immediately after the period of the competition; I can therefore confirm every word of Mr. Wolfe's statements as far as they relate to that time, and I could refer to many corroborative circumstances, did space permit me to do so.

“There is no doubt that Sir C. Barry derived valuable assistance in carrying out the details of his designs from Mr. Pugin, Mr. Thomas, and the rest of his staff, many of whom are now architects of celebrity, and might claim as reasonably as Mr. Pugin now does for his father the credit of having designed the Westminster Palace.

“I remain, dear Edward, yours truly,

“ROBT. R. BANKS,

“For fifteen years chief assistant to the late Sir Charles Barry.

“*E. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*”

I subjoin the letter referred to:—

“*August 20, 1867.*

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I will explain as precisely as I can, the nature and extent of the assistance derived from Pugin in designing the Westminster Palace, and as it is well known that I was almost daily and nightly with your father during the preparation of the competition designs, and that I was cognizant of, and consulted upon, every stage of the work, I trust I may be accepted as a competent witness to the facts I have now to relate.

“It was not till after your father had originated, and, with his own hand, drawn out the general design, both in plan and elevation, that Pugin’s assistance was obtained. Pugin, then, under your father’s instructions, and from his designs, made, besides some perspective views, drawings, mostly in pencil, of the details of the building. During this process I often saw him at work, and heard his amusing criticisms of your father’s ideas, which were frequently opposed to his own. For this reason most of these drawings (for which and for some subsequently made Pugin received 400 guineas) were ultimately set aside, and when the competition drawings were finally prepared, although some of the least important of them were *drawn* by Pugin, they did not exhibit a single feature *designed* by him. This I positively declare.

“Your father was, of all men I have known, the one least likely to adopt other people’s ideas of art; but there is no doubt that Pugin’s valuable suggestions and criticisms may have helped to modify his views, and contributed to the production of new ideas.

“I hardly need say that the building as executed bears little

resemblance to the competition design; but I may add that the most important changes in it, those indeed which determined its character, were made by your father alone, while he was with me in the country, and not in communication with Pugin.

"I will now explain the reason of Pugin's direct appointment by the Government, and also the application of his letter to the 'Builder' in 1845. The appointment was suggested and recommended by your father, with the view of securing to his friend a position not likely to be affected by any change in his own relation to the Government, which at times appeared critical. The letter to the 'Builder' was intended to put an end, once for all, to such claims as are now advanced, and it was written by Pugin in concert with your father, after consultation with me, not only to refer to the past, but to explain publicly the state of the case for the future. The statement made by Pugin that his occupation was to assist in carrying out your father's designs is strictly and literally true of the whole of his connection with the Houses of Parliament.

"I would go into further details if necessary, but I have perhaps said enough to show that Pugin acted in complete subordination to your father, and, in the matter of competition, strictly as an assistant draughtsman, although one of the highest order.

"Pugin was not the man to accept, still less to claim, the credit due to others; and I can state most positively that he never to my knowledge advanced any assertion at variance with his own clear and carefully worded letter of 1845.

"I am, my dear friend, yours very truly,

"JOHN L. WOLFE.

"*To Edward M. Barry, Esq.*"

(b) "Great Queen Street, Westminster, January 24th, 1868.*

"DEAR DR. BARRY,—As I perceive you are about to publish a reply to certain statements made by Mr. E. W. Pugin, my personal knowledge and experience may be of some service.

"You are perhaps aware that I had the good fortune of acting under the immediate direction of your highly-gifted

* This letter is from Mr. Gibson, the well-known architect, who was included in the invitations to the recent Law Courts Competition.

father, as pupil and assistant, from the middle of 1835 (when I was for a short time at the building of the Birmingham Grammar School) until the autumn of 1844; and during these nine years I saw, and had a great deal to do with, the drawings as modified, and those for the estimate, as well as the details for the New Houses of Parliament as executed, which were designed by him in this manner. He would make plan after plan, sketch after sketch, and was never satisfied until he had tried to improve whatever he had in hand (whether it was in Italian or Gothic); he never rested before he obtained that symmetry and proportion for which he is so justly celebrated; in fact, I have often rubbed out and re-drawn many times over, his own views and directions, and I have seen drawings, after all this consideration, sponged out at night, and found he had re-drawn on the same paper, on my arrival the next day, a new design; and this would often be repeated, so that the cost to him in disused designs and detail drawings must have been something enormous, up to the time I left in 1844, when the great bulk of the building was far advanced. At the early time to which I have alluded (1835), there were very few who knew anything about Gothic architecture except himself, Pugin, and a few others. Now your father had not only designed, but had already nearly completed, the exterior of what may even now be considered a very good specimen of Gothic architecture (I here allude to the Birmingham Grammar School). I have seen no evidence adduced showing that Barry even knew Pugin as early as 1833, in which year he competed for the last-named building; in fact Pugin could not have been much more than twenty years old at that date. I refer now more particularly to this building, and I am not singular in my opinion that its façade, as designed by Barry in 1833, was the germ of his first design for the Houses of Parliament, and I well recollect one of the commissioners, who selected the original design for the Houses of Parliament, stating to his friends in my presence that Barry had rather repeated himself.

“That Pugin made drawings for Barry in 1835 no one disputes, but I much question that he designed for him.

“Again, with regard to the designs prepared for ‘the estimate’ of the Houses of Parliament, I maintain that not only were tracings of ‘*the plans*’ sent to Mr. Pugin for his guidance in making out details, when he did not work at the office, but also sections and elevations of those parts which Barry designed

and wished Pugin to detail, all of which, so far as I know, were set aside in carrying out the work.

"Barry was the last man to depend upon others for designs; but I do know this, that Pugin assisted as others did with an earnest goodwill in the vast amount of work for which Barry was solely responsible.

"I am yours, very truly,

"JOHN GIBSON.

"*Dr. Barry, Cheltenham.*"

(c)

"20, Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, S.W.,"

"24th January, 1868.

"MY DEAR BARRY,—I am very glad to have an opportunity of bearing testimony from my own personal knowledge and observation of the duties performed by your late father as the sole architect and designer of the present Palace of Westminster.

"I was placed with him in the year 1840, and remained with him as pupil and assistant till the year 1848. In the first three years I acted as his amanuensis, and had the charge of his correspondence, and consequently was placed in a most favourable position to watch his various labours at the desk or the drawing board. In fact during this particular period I was constantly at his elbow I might say.

"The drawings of the river front, the various internal courts, the two Houses of Lords and Commons, the Royal Gallery, the Central Hall, St. Stephen's Hall and Porch, the Royal Staircase, the Victoria Tower to a height of 130 feet, the Central Tower complete, and the Clock Tower to the corbelled parapet underneath the clock face, were positively executed (making several thousands in number) in the eight years I was with him. Your father, with an industry and energy unparalleled, with an amount of resource in design and a facility of rapid execution with his pencil rarely equalled, supplied *all the art* and most of the constructive *brains* for these drawings. Not content with sketches to small scales to give to his assistants, many drawings and details to the largest scales were prepared in pencil by his own hand, and given to us to ink-in and send out to the

* This letter is also from a well-known architect, who was asked to compete for the National Gallery and the Law Courts, and whose statements will carry great weight with the Profession.

works. Few in that office had the temerity to offer him suggestions at all, and fewer still at any rate from an art point of view. So singularly was his mind constituted, and so thoroughly did he rely upon his own resources, that rather than, as he thought, waste time in giving directions to his subordinates, he would make the drawings himself and send them into the office for completion and copying previous to delivery to the contractors.

“Up to the period of the appointment of the late Mr. Pugin as superintendent of the wood-carving at Thames Bank Works about 1844 or 1845 (I write from memory only as to the dates) I never saw a drawing or detail of stone-work of Mr. Pugin's used in the office. There were some 30 or 40 drawings prepared antecedent to my connection with your father, but an inspection of their peculiar character and manner would be quite sufficient to satisfy the most superficial observer that they bore no resemblance to the present building as executed, other than being in the style of the 15th century work.

“So far as regards the stone-work of the building in its delicacy of detail inside and out, the designing of its towers, and the grouping of its masses, no one can with truth lay the slightest claim to being the author of its merits or defects but your father.

“With regard to the internal finishings of the building, the decorative wood and oak-work, I can speak also from the same personal knowledge, that he alone made the designs of all the main features of the work, and his ruling mind governed even that which was not the actual production of his own hand; on this point you must have plenty of evidence by the drawings still in your possession.

“That the late Mr. Pugin gave your father most valuable assistance in much of the details of the fittings and finishings has never been disputed; but that his assistance was solely confined to his own *spécialité* of decorative detail in wood-carving, metal-work, furniture, paper hanging, and polychromy, cannot on the other hand be gainsayed by those who were engaged in the work in other capacities, and had opportunities of seeing the services performed by that talented man.

“As one instance of the antagonism of views exhibited by the two men in the style of treatment of the decorative finishings of the House of Lords I well recollect seeing a drawing by the late Mr. Pugin, which he sent to your father, being his idea for the

Throne. If this is in existence it will convince the most sceptical how thoroughly monastic, as distinguished from civil or domestic, the character of Mr. Pugin's designs were in most cases whenever he acted independently of your father's sketches and instructions.

"The drawing in question exhibited a gorgeous piece of tabernacle work, partaking of the character of a bishop's stall in a cathedral, and which your father unhesitatingly put aside and substituted *the present throne, designed by himself* as more in accordance with its intended purpose.

"I understand your brother, Dr. Barry, is preparing a reply to the pamphlet of Mr. Welby Pugin. I am glad of it, as in the interest of truth, and in justice to the most distinguished architect of his day, such pretensions on the part of Mr. Welby Pugin in favour of his father should now and for ever be disposed of.

"With the overwhelming testimony of living witnesses that can be produced of the personal labour of your father on the designs of the New Palace at Westminster, the drawings and correspondence by his own hand in your possession, I am confident that when both sides are heard the verdict of the public (for that of the Profession has been given long ago) will not be long withheld as to who was the designer and architect of the Houses of Parliament—Sir Charles Barry alone, with the subordinate aid of several principal assistants and a large staff, or the late Mr. Pugin without a staff, but with one very zealous but indiscreet assistant who shall be nameless.

"Yours truly,

"G. SOMERS CLARKE."

(d) "SIR,*—I have not seen Mr. E. W. Pugin's pamphlet,—but I have carefully read and re-read the correspondence in your journal respecting the 'Westminster Palace.' I venture to think that you will allow me a few words on the subject, to supply some information of consequence, that has not yet appeared in your correspondence. I became an articled pupil of the late Sir C. Barry in June, 1836, and was amongst those in his office, who were draughted off to Westminster soon after, to engage in the working out of the designs for the great

* Addressed to the 'Pall Mall Gazette' (but not inserted, as the editor considered the controversy closed) by another old pupil of Sir C. Barry.

building in question, where I remained for a period of six years. I was therefore intimately acquainted with that which pertains to the undertaking, and this is my title to be heard.

“Up to the period I commence with, and in reference to the ‘Competition Designs,’ the letter of Mr. Talbot Bury and that of Mr. J. L. Wolfe will be sufficient, I am sure, with every right-thinking man to establish the late Sir Charles Barry’s claim to all the merit of the original designs. I may say, moreover, that the substance of their statements was well understood in the office at the time, and I believe them to be strictly and faithfully correct, viz., that Mr. Augustus Welby Pugin was simply employed to work out the designs furnished to him, as any other clerk would have to do, and as indeed he afterwards did in my time.

“It is not generally known, but it is a fact that must be named, the ‘Competition Designs’ *were not in any one particular carried out*, excepting perhaps the broad features of the plan. After the competition decision, from what cause I cannot say, the whole aspect of the design was changed from a grand, massive, castellated building to one of a light, elegant, and more domestic character, and thus Pugin’s works, whatever they may have been in the original drawings, expired.

“A revised design ensued, and I can distinctly affirm, from personal knowledge, that this was prepared by the head and hands of Sir Charles Barry himself, and consisted of four elevations most wonderfully drawn to a scale of 40 feet to the inch; these designs were worked out again to a larger scale by the same master-hand before they were passed over to Mr. Pugin, who was employed to make the larger scale drawings required for the surveyor’s quantities only; in this work, it is but fair to say, that his great rapidity of execution proved eminently useful, under the pressure of the Government to determine the probable cost of the undertaking speedily. On the completion of these drawings Mr. Pugin disappeared from the scene, and was not again employed to my knowledge for many years; but then was recommended by Sir Charles Barry to the appointment of superintendent over the wood-carving establishment. Simultaneously with Mr. Pugin’s disappearance and the completion of the estimates founded upon authentic information, that proved the practicability of carrying out an ornate building within reasonable expenditure, *disappeared also the designs and drawings that had been used, including of course all those prepared by Mr. Pugin.*

“No sooner had the difficulty regarding the cost of, and the obtaining of instruction to proceed with, the building been got over, than Sir Charles Barry commenced again with intense earnestness, not simply revising the designs already made, but by producing new ones—and new ones again differing totally from their predecessors, and these again were perpetually undergoing change, as he studied and re-studied, balancing the parts and harmonising the whole up to the very day of execution; and this incessant study and labour, I doubt not, extended through his whole life, and throughout this great and tremendous undertaking. The result is indeed great and glorious—a building that has brought, and will throughout ages bring, honour to this nation and to the profession to which it belonged.

“Within my own time I can safely say, that not one fraction, not so much as a single moulding in the *work executed* was designed or ever drawn by Pugin, and I believe that this will apply as fully and as truly to every other portion of the executed work since my time; for I hold it to be a thing impossible, knowing the self-contained mind of this truly great architect, that he could for a moment allow himself to be trammelled by any man as an architectural draughtsman.

“I am, Sir,

“Your very obedient servant,

“*Manchester, Aug. 30, 1867.*”

“W. H. BRAKSPEAR.

(e)

160, *Hope Street, Glasgow, 25 September, 1867.*

“SIR,*—Does any one dispute that Mr. Pugin assisted Sir Charles Barry in making the competition drawings for the Houses of Parliament?

“I suppose that Pugin’s was the best assistance that Barry could obtain at that time. Some of the drawings were entirely from Barry’s own hand, and from Pugin’s known works there can be no doubt were of Barry’s own designing, being as unlike that master’s style as Gothic from Italian work. It was not difficult to discover Barry’s own drawing, for even as a draughtsman he was very prominent. As Pugin could only have assisted in these drawings as a paid clerk, or as a friend,

* Addressed to the ‘Builder,’ but not inserted.

how can any credit as architect be ascribed to him in such a position? It could never end were this to be the case; there were others whose valuable services to Barry rendered the Palace what it is. One name, Mr. John Thomas, sculptor, I may mention. I might as well claim the design of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, because I was present and assisted in the competition drawings for that building, being an intimate friend of poor Elmes; but who will dare to deprive him of all the honour due to his great work?

"Presume, however, that Barry was totally incapable of producing such a design as that of the New Houses of Parliament without the assistance of Pugin, I am perfectly certain that many others besides myself, equally well acquainted with the original designs and the building as executed, know that they do not resemble one another in the slightest degree, beyond being a façade and three towers—the central tower being a late addition during Dr. Reid's ventilation scheme. During the five years of my apprenticeship I never once saw any of the drawings by Pugin used in making the working plans from which the building was executed; so much so, I remember that Barry did not even know where these competition drawings had been put, and I can safely vouch they never saw the light of day for many years, being locked up in a box, stowed away among a number of models, when our offices were part of the old Speaker's House, rendering it impossible that these plans were ever used in carrying out the work. A glance at the original and executed designs, a copy of each of which I have now before me, of the river front with the towers, would convince sufficiently the most ardent supporter of Mr. Pugin that the New Houses of Parliament were never designed by him.

"There was a charming set of elevations of the three fronts, in different-coloured inks, which were drawn by Barry himself; it was to them that reference was constantly made for information during the preparation of the detail drawings. I am confident, as I have already stated, that not one of the plans drawn by Pugin were ever made use of; nor is it possible I can be mistaken, as I could name the author of any drawing in the office; and without any disparagement to Pugin's talents as an architect, I have no hesitation in asserting that Barry's drawings represented *stone*, and Pugin's *iron* or *wire-work*.

"I have great pleasure in thus calling to my recollection

these circumstances, and hope they may answer the purpose of giving to the late Sir Charles Barry the full credit due to him in every respect, as the highly distinguished architect of the New Houses of Parliament. Surely some of the older pupils than myself now resident in London, will not flinch from adding their testimony to my statements, and prevent any further controversy about our late much respected and talented master.

“ I am yours,

“ GEORGE PENROSE KENNEDY,

“ *Pupil of the late Sir C. Barry.*”

(f)

“ 27, *King-street, City, 27th August, 1867.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,*—In the ‘Pall Mall Gazette,’ I have read the correspondence up to the 24th inst., and, having some considerable knowledge of the early history of the above important work, have the pleasure to add my testimony to those of Mr. Barry, Mr. Wolfe, Mr. Banks and Mr. Ferrey.

I was in the office of your father the late Sir Charles Barry. I entered it immediately after the great work was intrusted to him, as superior clerk of the staff employed by him to get out the working drawings of the New Houses, Mr. Banks holding a similar position for works irrespective of this building. My duties, both at your father’s residence and at the office at Westminster, were to work out from his drawings, detail workings, drawings, plans, sections, and elevations, to the same scale as his own, viz. $\frac{1}{4}$ to the foot. *During this period the late Mr. A. W. Pugin was occasional assistant at a better salary than my own, and was employed in making drawings of parts of the building to enlarged scales, but had for his authority the smaller drawings of Sir C. Barry.* I remember particularly a bay of river front, details of wings, Clock Tower, King or Great Tower, ceiling and section of House of Lords and Commons, Queen’s Gallery, Robing Room, lobbies, and several other drawings, all of which were known in the office as productions of Mr. A. W. Pugin, and were also known to be enlargements of those prepared by Sir C. Barry himself, existing in the office as studies: from these working drawings the detail estimate

* On this letter Mr. E. W. Pugin makes a statement, that it was “indited” by my brother, Mr. E. M. Barry. What could have led him to make this statement I know not, but I must add that it is absolutely groundless.

of cost was made in accordance with the order of Parliament. *The position held during all this time by the late Mr. A. W. Pugin was that of an occasional assistant and valued friend, and until lately I have never heard this disputed.*

“After the general design and estimate received the approval of the authorities, a portion of the building was ordered to be carried into execution, viz. the river wall and the river front, and portions of the wings. The working drawings for all the works were made in the office of Sir C. Barry, it being under my charge; and during this period I heard very little of the late Mr. A. W. Pugin as connected with your father; all the details of the works being from the pencil of Sir C. Barry, who laboured upon the work with great facility and the most enduring industry, even to the injury of his health; he re-considered his previous designs and made many important improvements. I may add, that during the period I remained with Sir C. Barry I had every opportunity of knowing the enormous labour he gave to the work, and I speak quite within the truth when I say, *every part of that portion of the building in my charge had the designing hand of Sir C. Barry at least ten times over*, and I believe also the remainder of the structure has had similar labour and thought bestowed on it.

“I know, as a fact, that, although the plan in its general arrangements has remained unaltered, the elevations and sections are very different to the original designs, and no one portion at all accords with any detail prepared by the late Mr. A. W. Pugin.

“As regards the late Mr. Thomas, he was my personal friend, and consulted me upon his engagement with Sir C. Barry; his duties were those of superintendent of modelling and stone-carving, and in no way interfered with the later duties of Mr. A. W. Pugin, who did superintend the wood-carving, I have no doubt.

“I cannot conclude this letter without saying I have seen Mr. Pugin’s pamphlet” (On the Designs for the New Law Courts) “as well as the correspondence, and it is much to be regretted Mr. Pugin has entered into this controversy. He cannot from his age know personally anything of the subject, upon which he has been writing, and the tone is of a spirit prevailing *now* among some young professional men, in boasting that the reputation of more experienced artists is mainly owing to their talents; and beyond the annoyance to your family

and yourself, the correspondence can have no effect upon the acknowledged and secure reputation and honours of the late Sir C. Barry.

"As regards the reputation of the late Mr. A. W. Pugin, it was established upon different data from those pretended by his son, and I am persuaded his son's statement would not have been permitted had he been alive.

"I can, therefore, only conceive that Mr. Pugin has taken the mischievous course of endeavouring to damage the reputation of Sir C. Barry, and I am equally sorry to say your own likewise, in order, if possible, to obtain a position for himself upon false and pretended artistic wisdom as yet unacknowledged by the public, and bringing upon the profession a great scandal.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"E. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A."

"W. WRIGHT.

The following is from Mr. Groves, Mr. Wright's successor:—

(g)

"9, Craig's Court, Charing Cross,

"24th January, 1868.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your enquiries respecting my duties, &c., at the then "Houses of Parliament" under the late Sir Charles Barry, I beg to state that I succeeded Mr. Wright in August, 1839, as chief superintendent of the office (*on the spot*) and the works, and my duty was to inspect the works once or twice a day as occasion required (there being three clerks of works always there, each having a separate portion of the building under their inspection), and the remainder of my time was engaged in the office, &c., making out the numerous drawings required (with Messrs. Gibson, Brakspear, and other assistants and pupils) to be issued on the works for the direction and guidance of the contractors in erecting the building, and I remained in this position until April, 1845.

"During the whole time of my engagement I have no recollection of seeing Mr. Pugin more than once or twice on the spot, apparently inspecting the works as other visitors did. I have never worked from any of his drawings that I am aware of, nor can I recollect ever seeing them, but always from those of the late Sir Charles Barry, who was almost daily with me direct-

ing and supervising the working drawings at the time in progress from which the building was carried into effect.

"Nothing was a greater surprise to me than to hear that any one had arisen to dispute the claim of the late Sir Charles Barry as architect of the now Westminster Palace, for which there appears to me no justification.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

"*Edward M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A., &c.*"

"F. H. GROVES.

The following are from the well-known contractors for the New Palace :—

(h) *"Norbury Park, Dorking, 9th September, 1867.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is with much pleasure that I comply with the request contained in your note to me of the 7th inst.

"I shall not enter into the details of the controversy between you and Mr. E. Welby Pugin, but confine myself simply to the point at issue as far as my own personal knowledge and observation extend.

"I was, as you are aware, engaged in the building of the Houses of Parliament for a period of nearly fifteen years; in fact, from the foundation nearly to the completion of the work as it now stands.

"During the progress of the works I received every requisite instruction from the late Sir Charles Barry; and all the plans, working drawings, &c., came to me direct from his office. All information and directions I required as the works proceeded emanated immediately from the same source; and I knew of no other directing hand than your father's. His plans, as adopted by the Government, were carried out exclusively, as I believed, under his eminent skill and assiduous personal attention; and I believe that such was the conviction of all who were engaged under me in the execution of the work. I may say that I never had the pleasure of seeing the late Mr. Pugin on the works more than on two or three occasions, while I was engaged on them.

"I know that Sir Charles often consulted his friend, Mr. Pugin, for whose great talent I believe he entertained the highest respect and admiration, in some departments connected with the details of the work, such as in the carved and other internal decorations of the building.

"The letter of Mr. Pugin of the 3rd September, 1845, expresses in exact terms, I think, the relative position in which Sir Charles and he stood, and it confirms my views at the time precisely.

"It would be difficult for me to express so concisely and clearly as that letter does the part Mr. Pugin took in the great work; and I am therefore glad to adopt it as expressing my sincere belief and conviction of its accuracy on every point referred to.

"Indeed, until the present controversy arose, I never entertained the least supposition that any other than your father claimed, or was entitled to, the merit of the work.

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"Edward M. Barry, Esq."

"T. GRISSELL.

(i)

"9, Great George-street, Westminster, S.W.,

"16th September, 1867.

"DEAR MR. BARRY,—I was, in conjunction with my late partner Mr. Thomas Grissell, connected with the building of the New Houses of Parliament, from their commencement until the year 1845, when we dissolved partnership, and during the whole of that period I had every reason to know that your late father, Sir Charles Barry, was the sole architect, and from him alone we, as contractors, received all drawings and instructions needful for carrying out the work.

"In constructing so extensive an edifice as that of the Houses of Parliament, the architect would, no doubt, have sought assistance in carrying out the details of the work from many persons competent to aid him, as it is obvious that no person could have prepared all the drawings himself, especially while engaged in a very extensive professional career, but I never heard a rumour until now, that the designs and plans, except such details as I have above referred to, had emanated from or been claimed by any other person than Sir Charles Barry, who was, I most sincerely believe, entitled to their parentage.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Barry,

"Yours truly,

"Edward M. Barry, Esq."

"S. MORTON PETO.

(k)

“13, *Parliament Street, S.W.*, 2nd October, 1867.

“DEAR SIR,—My connection with Sir C. Barry (then resident in Foley Place) commenced before the completion of the New Houses of Parliament, and I executed work for him at the Travellers’ Club, Mr. Attree’s house at Brighton, and at Lord Tankerville’s at Walton. During the whole term of the erection of the Houses of Parliament I was constantly employed for him, at first as manager of the London marble works, subsequently and for the last twelve years of his life, on my own account.

“During all this time I took all my instructions either from Sir Charles or from his clerk of works, but chiefly from himself, as I worked to his own drawings, which I have repeatedly seen him make and alter as occasion required.

“I had never during the whole period to deal with Mr. Pugin, save on one occasion, when some small spandrel panels in the floor of the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament had to be filled in, the tiles intended for them having been forgotten.* In this instance I gave to Mr. Pugin, by order of Sir Charles, the sizes of these panels, that he might forward them to Messrs. Minton for execution, as I apprehend, after his own designs.

“In all my experience of architects I have known few, if any, who have devoted so much personal labour to the designing the even minute details of their works; and knowing as I do, the extreme and conscientious attention given by Sir Charles to the daily and even hourly progress of his great undertaking, and the extent to which he personally identified himself with its every feature, I can only style any attempt to detract from his well-earned fame as the sole architect and designer of the New Houses of Parliament as simply preposterous.

“I am, Sir, yours obediently,

“WM. FIELD.

“*Edward M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*”

The following are from Mr. Quarm, for many years the trusted representative of my father at Westminster, and from Mr. Bayne, superintendent of the wood-carving works:—

* This passage curiously explains Sir Charles’s Letter XIV. on page 49 of Mr. E. Pugin’s pamphlet, stating that he forgot the arrangement of the tiles in the angle spaces of this floor.—E. M. B.

(l)

“ *Rose Villa, St. John’s Road, Brixton,*
“ *January 23rd, 1868.*

“ DEAR MR. BARRY,—I have purposely avoided all correspondence throughout the controversy you have had with Mr. E. Pugin respecting the statement he persists in, claiming for his father the merit of the design for the New Houses of Parliament; and had the matter rested on the question of the design only, I should not have troubled you with this letter, as others have recently disposed of this claim from their early and intimate connexion with the building. But, when I find other claims set forth affecting the period of my direction of the works, I cannot refrain from repudiating of my own knowledge all such statements.

“ I was appointed as chief superintendent of the office and the works at the building in 1845, have had at least twelve clerks of works and other clerks under my direction, and was responsible for all that was done in every department from that time till the death of Sir Charles Barry in 1860. Being in his confidence I knew every transaction, I can therefore faithfully state that Mr. Pugin *had nothing whatever to do with the works* during that period, beyond superintending the wood-carving at Thames Bank in the early part of the time, and the extent of his services in that department Mr. Bayne can best explain. Mr. Pugin, however, published in 1845 a proper explanation. With this exception I can state I never saw any drawings of Mr. Pugin’s of the works, except large details for carved work, tile floors, ornamental metal-work and stained glass, which were made by him for the contractors.

“ I have seen Sir Charles make hundreds of drawings which I have subsequently carried out, so that *I cannot be mistaken*; and as to Mr. Pugin’s details from Sir Charles’s small drawings, I ought to remark that it was a most exceptional case for any to be executed without being altered by Sir Charles.

With regard to the towers particularly, they were all completed before I left the works, and what remained unfinished at Sir Charles’s death I finished under your directions as architect, and I can say with confidence that you must have been fully cognisant of all that took place in the building for at least ten years before Sir Charles’s decease, and can therefore bear out my statement. I may remark that the large number of drawings as studies made by Sir Charles for years were modelled

from time to time by Mr. Mabey (in whose shop I never knew Mr. Pugin to enter), and the incessant toil of Sir Charles in that respect was far beyond any one's belief but those about him, and I am certain that Mr. Pugin had nothing to do with them. My knowledge of the whole undertaking was so recognized by Sir Charles that it was not an unusual thing if he came to my office during any temporary absence, for him to leave again without going over the works, as he always considered my presence indispensable ; I am therefore able to state that I do not believe Mr. Pugin either alone or with Sir Charles was on any occasion in the building without my being present, and when there, the visits were always on the subject of the approval by Sir Charles of specimens of wood-carving, stained glass, tile-flooring, or metal-work—the branches which Mr. Pugin had more immediately under his detailing. I never remember any conversation directly or indirectly on the subject of the *structure or its details externally or internally*.

“I am quite astonished at the outrageous assertions of Mr. E. Pugin, as every one must be with any knowledge of the facts. No one will deny that Mr. Pugin rendered Sir Charles valuable assistance in his department as many others did in theirs, and Sir Charles was not the man not to appreciate it, for he knew far well that in such a gigantic undertaking life was far too short for him to accomplish everything with his own hands. His mind had mastered all its difficulties, and it was for others to assist him in the carrying out the work designed and originated by him.

“I consider it a monstrous fabrication of Mr. E. Pugin's from first to last ; I cannot conceive how it is possible he can persist in it, and it grieves me exceedingly to think of the annoyance that it must have given to those immediately connected with Sir Charles and the great work in question.

“And I remain, yours faithfully,

“*E. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*”

“THOS. QUARM.

(m) “*Great Smith Street, Westminster, September, 1867.*

“SIR,*—I was much surprised to see Mr. Burton's statement, that the late Mr. Pugin designed the whole of the fittings for

* Addressed to the ‘Pall Mall Gazette,’ but not inserted.

the Houses of Parliament, and that Sir C. Barry had nothing to do with them.

"I can positively contradict this statement. I was the practical superintendent of the works at Millbank, from their commencement in January, 1845, to their close in December, 1859.

"The whole of the wood-work and carving for the Houses of parliament, and full-sized models and patterns for ornamental metal-work, were made at Thames Bank during this time under my direction, and I necessarily had much knowledge of all that Mr. Pugin did, and can with certainty say he never took part in anything but ornamental detail.

"Mr. Pugin only came occasionally to the works, and almost always accompanied by Sir C. Barry.

"Sir Charles was at the works almost daily, when much was doing, and altered his designs again and again. I had to model everything for his approval and decision, and I can therefore state most decidedly that both Mr. E. W. Pugin and Mr. Burton are wrong in the claims they put forward. Sir Charles used frequently to make designs for all parts of the work in my presence, but I never saw Mr. Pugin do anything but ornamental detail.

"I well remember the appearance of the letter in the 'Builder' in 1845, in which letter Mr. Pugin describes, quite correctly, the position he occupied in his connection with the Houses of Parliament; and as the actual execution of the work passed through my hands, I am entitled to speak with confidence.

"I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"R. BAYNE,

*" Practical Superintendent of the works at Millbank
for the Westminster Palace."*

The following is from Mr. Philip, the well-known architectural sculptor, and shows the opinion of those who actually worked at Thames Bank under Mr. Pugin.

(n) " *West Pavilion, Hans Place, January 25th, 1868.*

"DEAR SIR,—Whatever testimony I can give respecting the point at issue in this unfortunate assertion of claims as to the authorship of the Houses of Parliament by the son of the late Mr. Pugin on behalf of his father, I have pleasure in plac-

ing at your disposal. I was introduced by an eminent painter still living to the notice of Mr. Pugin, who engaged me to make models for the guidance of the numerous workmen engaged in executing the wood-carvings in the workshops at Thames Bank. It was a privilege much prized at the time, and not since forgotten, that it was my lot to be in personal communication with Mr. Pugin on nearly all occasions when he visited the works; his business being to supply designs for the ornamental details of the carving of ceilings, wall framings, &c., and to see that the models executed during the intervals of his visits had been carried out in accordance and in the spirit of his drawings. That his work was of the utmost importance, and that his position with Sir Charles Barry was of the highest and most intimate character in this special department, there could not be a shadow of a doubt; but it was also equally clear that Sir Charles Barry was the chief who exercised the sharpest control not only over Mr. Pugin's designs, but also of the work executed from them. The usual course was that Mr. Pugin visited the works, averaging certainly not oftener than once in a fortnight, leaving a great number of sketches executed during the few hours he was with us. Sir Charles Barry was in the habit of visiting the works two or three times in each week, or oftener; it continually happened on these visits that Sir Charles not only set aside and disapproved of Pugin's designs, but superseded them by designs made by himself.

"From the remarks I have heard Mr. Pugin make upon the exterior I cannot imagine that he was either the author, or that he had the power in any way to control it. I believe his work was entirely restricted to making designs for the ornamental wood-carvings, metal-work, tiles for floors, and furniture generally.

"My then and now friend Mr. Clayton was my fellow-worker. Our occupation necessitated a closer and more unreserved intercourse with him than usually happens to the lot of ordinary assistants. Had Mr. Pugin been the designer of the whole structure, I think some inkling of the fact must have oozed out during the period of two years and a half that we were so engaged. I am sure that surprise was our mutual feeling when Mr. Pugin's claims were advanced. Workmen are very keen in discovering who is the real master. I am sure there was no other feeling among the men at that time

but that Sir Charles Barry was the designer and supreme head of the work.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

" J. BIRNIE PHILIP.

" *E. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*"

The following is from the head of the well-known firm of Clayton and Bell, and shows, that even in the department specially confided to Mr. Pugin, his subordination to Sir Charles Barry was fully maintained.

(o)

" 13, *Fellows Road, Haverstock Hill,*
" *Jan 24th, 1868.*

" MY DEAR SIR,—During the years 1846–7 I was engaged at Thames Bank in translating Mr. Pugin's sketches into the form of models for many of the details of the interior of the Houses of Lords and Commons.

" At this period I saw much both of Mr. Pugin and Sir Charles Barry, and necessarily had good opportunity of knowing in what practical form their minds respectively operated upon this phase of the work. I should signally misrepresent myself by uttering one word that might seem to fall short of the highest admiration of Mr. Pugin's genius; but—apart from the question as to Sir Charles's position as architect of the building in the broader sense—I cannot hesitate to say that the impression left upon my mind from the much I witnessed in the production of the said details was that Mr. Pugin's exuberant invention and singular facility of hand were scarcely more active and potent, even in this part of the work, than were Sir Charles's cooler judgment and control of general effects. These frequent cancellings, modifications, and changes wrought upon Mr. Pugin's designs by Sir Charles's counselling, sketching, and restraining influence generally were often startling to me by the extent to which they were carried.

" Of the many who were at the time similarly engaged with me—including Mr. J. B. Philip and Mr. T. Phyffers—I never heard an opinion that did not admit with enthusiasm the force of Mr. Pugin's abundant fancy, and with equal warmth the power of Sir Charles's artistic judgment.

" I am, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

" JOHN R. CLAYTON.

" *Edw. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*"

The following are from the architectural modellers at the New Palace:—

(p) 1, 1A, & 2, *Princes-street, Westminster, S.W.*,
“12th September, 1867.

“DEAR SIR,—Having read the letters of Mr. E. W. Pugin in the ‘Times’ of the 7th inst., and periodicals before, relating to the late Sir Charles Barry and Mr. A. W. Pugin, I feel it to be my duty and pleasure to state my knowledge and experience in reference to the subject in question, leaving it with you to use as you think fit. I was employed, as you are aware, as foreman of the modelling department, at the New Houses of Parliament for sixteen years, engaged by Mr. John Thomas in the year 1842, and during that time principally occupied in making the small models, of which I had the entire superintendence immediately under the direction of Sir Charles Barry, working them out in many cases from his dictation and sketches made upon the spot, diverging frequently so far from the original design as to constitute a new construction of entire masses and parts; for he was frequently disappointed by the effect of his designs when worked out upon a small scale in a model, which induced him to make repeated alterations directly upon the model itself, without submitting a drawing; and all such alterations, which, as I have stated, were often important ones, were entirely due to his personal control without the intervention of any other person whatever. No one ever accompanied him excepting his esteemed friend Mr. Wolfe, and I am sure Mr. A. W. Pugin never came with him to see the models, and the workshops were locked up every evening when I went away, and access rendered impossible, so that he could not have consulted with him about further alterations to be made upon them. The models which I made were of the river front, Victoria Clock and Central Towers, Palace Yard front, the groin ceilings of the Central and St. Stephen’s Halls, and of the Victoria Tower, besides numerous other portions of the building; and on all of these, more especially the river front and towers, it *was* that his repeated alterations were made; several models were made for each, and each model was subjected to immediate and spontaneous alteration in the manner I have previously stated.

“I might add Sir Charles Barry’s freedom in design and facility in sketching often impressed me with wonder, and has

left no doubt on my mind that the original source was his own great power.

"I have been much surprised to see that Mr. Pugin claims for his father, on the authority of Mr. Burton, 'the conception, 'the plan, the elevations, the sections, and the details' of the Throne in the House of Lords, and states that he made 'no less than three different designs for it' in 1845.

"All I can say is that I perfectly remember making the block-model from Sir Charles's sketches in the modeller's shop on the river terrace at the works of the New Palace.

"Mr. Pugin never came while I was engaged on it, but Sir Charles was with me almost every day superintending my work. The model, after some consideration and minor alterations, was settled in accordance with Sir Charles Barry's drawing now photographed. The model was then sent to Mr. Bayne at the Thames Bank workshops.

"Subsequently some of the sculptured detail was *modelled and worked* from Sir Charles's instructions by Mr. Thomas in our shop, just before the House of Lords was completed, and the work was fixed in its place by me.

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

"*E. M. Barry, Esq., A.R.A.*"

"JAMES MABEY.

(q) "62, *Walnut-tree Walk, Kennington Road, Lambeth,*
"Jan. 24th, 1868.

"Sir,—I was ten years with the late Mr. Thomas, during seven of which I was more or less constantly employed for the Houses of Parliament.

"Mr. Mabey was employed in making the small general models of parts of the building, particularly the towers, and my work was principally to prepare the full-size models for the carvers to work from. The method generally adopted in carrying out the heraldic models for the exterior of the river front and parts of Victoria Tower and other portions of the building of the New Houses of Parliament (many of which I modelled under the late Mr. Thomas), was this: there was generally a small drawing made in Mr. Barry's office showing the general design, which was enlarged by Mr. Thomas and others, and the models were then made in the shops full size, Mr. Barry invariably giving his personal attention to them

before they were carved; and I conscientiously state that I never to my knowledge ever saw Mr. Pugin, and certainly never received any instructions from any one except from Mr. Barry and Mr. Thomas, the foreman never allowing anything to be cast for the carver until he had given his final approval.

“ I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ THOS. P. GARLAND,

“ *Rev. Dr. Barry, Cheltenham.*”

“ *Architectural Modeller.*”

(IV.) To these letters, written by those engaged with Sir C. Barry, I have only to add the following statement recently sent to me by Mr. Talbot Bury, in confirmation and illustration of his letters on pp. 16, 17, and based upon intimate knowledge of the facts from the other side. I have thought it right to give it exactly as it stands, although again the doing so may involve some slight repetition.

“ 50, *Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, W.*, Jan. 1, 1868.

“ REV. SIR,—I have this day, for the first time, seen E. Pugin’s pamphlet entitled ‘Who was the Art-Architect of ‘the Houses of Parliament?’ in which I find my name so very frequently mentioned, and observations made of such a nature as leaves me no other course than to reply to them, and to explain, more fully than I have *hitherto* done, the real and true positions existing between your father and my old friend A. Welby Pugin.

“ Although I have not the pleasure of knowing you, except by the controversy in the matter of the Parliament Houses, and as the author of the ‘Memoirs of Sir Charles Barry,’ still I venture to ask the favour of allowing me a few pages in your ‘Reply to E. Pugin’s Pamphlet’ (which I see advertised) so as to give me an opportunity of defending myself from false and dishonourable statements made in Mr. E. P.’s pamphlet.

“ May I request your kind indulgence for a few days to prepare the MSS. necessary for this purpose?

“ I am, yours very faithfully,

“ *The Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D.*”

“ TALBOT BURY.

“ In the pamphlet recently published by Mr. E. Pugin, he has thought proper to introduce my name very frequently, and

in such a way as demands a further explanation from me, respecting claims he has set up as to the designs for the Houses of Parliament; and, as his unjustifiable observations and incorrect statements have provoked this reply, he has only himself to thank for it.

"It is not my intention to follow the course of proceeding and reasoning which Mr. E. Pugin has adopted in his pamphlet; as from first to last it is nothing more than special pleading of the whole case, of misstatements of facts, of unwarrantable assumptions, of garbled quotations from the newspaper correspondence mingled with unmeasured abuse of those who have no other desire or object in this matter than to do full justice to the employer and employed on the works of the Houses of Parliament. Of necessity, I must be egotistical to explain how *I* am in a position to advance statements quite at variance with those published in several papers by Mr. E. Pugin; as well as how I have been able to obtain more information than himself, and therefore can explain the several small entries in my friend's pocket-books, which have been put forth as 'extracts from diaries,' and considered as confirmations strong of his own conclusions.

"The most confidential intimacy existed between A. Welby Pugin and myself from the time when I was articled as pupil to his father; and, on my leaving his father's office, this intimacy became closer from the similarity of our tastes generally, as well as of our studies in the class of art we were most attached to, and he was always with me at my house when in town, (as his aunt had taken apartments for him at Ramsgate after the death of his father and mother in 1833). He married a second time at the end of 1834, and removed in 1835 to a house at Salisbury, which he had built by a legacy left him by his aunt, Miss Welby.

"In the year 1835, when Mr. E. Pugin was not *one year* old, these designs and drawings to which I have referred as having been made by A. W. Pugin and myself for Mr. Gillespie Graham were prepared, and my friend Pugin was then likewise engaged in making drawings of ornamental carved-work for the Grammar Schools at Birmingham for Mr. Barry, whom he had only recently known; Mr. A. W. Pugin was then employed, both by Mr. Graham and Mr. Barry, on other works than those of the Houses of Parliament, which accounts for a confusion in the statements put forth in Mr. E. Pugin's pamphlet as

extracts from A. W. Pugin's 'diary' (page 18 to 21). But I have no faith in the correctness of these said 'extracts,' and the deductions drawn from them are proved to be incorrect. Pugin, at that time and for years afterwards, never kept a regular 'diary;' he certainly made occasional entries in a small pocket-book, which served him for diary, ledger and all; and in Ferrey's book of 'Recollections of A. W. Pugin' (page 242), he states, in giving extracts from his *small diary* of 1837, 'unfortunately a great portion of his (Mr. A. W. P.'s) memoranda prior to that date had been lost.' This he heard from Mr. E. Pugin, who gave him all the information and documents respecting his father, from which he edited the 'Memoirs.'

"It is certainly extraordinary, that, on leaving Ramsgate shortly after the death of his father, and in removing the furniture and effects to *three* different houses, the so-called 'diary' of 1835 should not have come to light. It could not be found in 1861, when Mr. Ferrey wrote his book; and, when Mr. E. Pugin called on me on the 11th of August, 1867, he stated to me that he could find 'no information or record of how his father was engaged in 1835.' Whence comes so opportunely this diary which no one has heard of before?

"As regards Pugin's working on Mr. Barry's competition drawings for the Houses of Parliament (excepting as I have before explained in my letter to the 'Pall Mall Gazette'), he was not engaged in any way in designing or drawing the plans, sections, or elevations. This I can positively assert, from his own statements to me; he had nothing whatever to do with them; and he has likewise told me that he never even suggested to Mr. Barry the principal features of either of the fronts or of the sky-line of the building, such as the Victoria Tower, the Clock Tower, or the Central Hall, but that he was employed solely in the way he states in his public letter to the 'Builder' in 1845.

"In the 'Life of Sir Charles Barry,' Dr. Barry gives my friend Pugin all the credit which he ever claimed himself in this building; he never put forward so *absurd* an assumption as the claim to being the 'art-architect' to the Houses of Parliament; he had too much sense to invent so unreal a title, and far too much honesty to assume it even had it been suggested to him.

"He always expressed himself happy in the employment, and fortunate in having it in a pecuniary light; as he not only received liberal payment for his drawings of details, but he derived a large income from the interest he had in the metal

works at Birmingham, where all work of that nature for the Houses of Parliament was executed.

"I was frequently at his house at Chelsea (where he lived after he left Salisbury), and afterwards at Ramsgate; I saw all the drawings he had in hand, and knew their purposes and destinations. When he was in town he made his drawings and appointments at my house as though it were his own.

"As regards Mr. E. Pugin, he personally can know little of his father's work for Sir Charles Barry; he was an infant when the competition took place, he was at school until sixteen, and he was only eighteen on the death of his father in 1852. He had not then left school more than two years, and, therefore, could have seen little more than the drawings for the 'paper-cases,' the 'inkstands,' 'umbrella-stands,' 'scrapers,' and some furniture, &c., &c., of which he makes so much.

"A. W. Pugin felt annoyance at the statement published in the 'Builder' in 1845, which he said gave him more credit for the design of the building than he could claim; he came to town immediately he saw it, and called on Mr. Barry to repudiate any knowledge of the authorship, or of its being published, until he saw it; he then wrote the explanation referred to in my letter of September the 18th, 1867, published in the 'Times' newspaper.

"In contradiction of this Mr. E. Pugin has published a letter bearing the name of 'John Mares,' stating, that 'his wife was 'residing at St. Augustine's Grange when Mr. Pugin returned 'from London,' and says, 'it is impossible to describe the state 'of prostration in which he entered the house.'" In reply to her inquiries as to its cause he said, 'I have been up all night—' Barry is in an awful state respecting the reports that have 'oozed out about my being the architect to the Houses, and he 'wants me to write a letter to save his reputation; it is gone if 'I do not, and I have no alternative.'

"I am sorry to be obliged to affirm that this statement is entirely at variance with facts which I clearly remember. It does not agree with my knowledge of the circumstances before the letter was written; for Pugin came straight to my house as soon as he saw the paragraph in the 'Builder'; he then went to Mr. Barry and returned to my house where the letter was actually written, nor did he return to Ramsgate till two days afterwards, or come up again at all on this matter. Nor does it agree with my remembrance of the circumstances after the letter was

written, for I well remember that he did not return home that night: he dined with me, and we went to the theatre the same evening, he being in remarkably good spirits. We breakfasted and dined together the following day; he expressed himself very glad that he had been able to set the matter right with Mr. Barry, as the loss of the money paid him for the drawings of details was of great importance to him. When we parted he was in excellent spirits, and I saw nothing of 'prostration' in perspective.

"Mr. E. Pugin states (p. xiii.), 'I have heard these words 'from his own mouth (his father's): "I made Barry's designs "for 400 guineas and Graham gave me 300 guineas for his."' Now I am sorry to have to tell Mr. E. Pugin that as this assertion is untrue, his father never could have been guilty of making it. Pugin did not have 400 guineas from Mr. Barry; and he told me that the amount he charged for sketches in 1835 and part of 1836 was 120*l.*, which he called a liberal payment for the work done. For drawings of *all kinds* made in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, Pugin did not receive over 300*l.* Knowing, as I did, all my friend's money transactions, I can make this assertion.

"As regards the letters Mr. E. Pugin has published, they absolutely prove nothing but that Mr. A. W. Pugin was seen drawing details for Sir Charles Barry's Houses of Parliament. All this was fully and freely admitted by him; and in Dr. Barry's 'Memoirs' of his father, he has done ample justice to the talents and memory of my old friend: he has, in the most open and considerate way, pointed out the relative positions of Sir C. Barry and Mr. Pugin, and the sincere friendship which existed between them until death.

"And what are these letters that Mr. E. Pugin publishes? Several of them are anonymous. That of an 'Ex M.P.' is worthless as regards evidence. That of Mr. 'Grieves' is the same; he knew Pugin was engaged on detail drawings for the 'Houses,' and speaks of his talents for Gothic architecture. Mr. Shaw's real acquaintance with Pugin began after 1844, when all the general drawings of the Houses had long been done, and the building nearly up; in short, all the other letters are those of unprofessional friends or persons employed by Mr. E. Pugin.

"The real fact of the matter is, that Pugin worked for Sir C. Barry as any other clever draughtsman may have done, and in this respect his assistance was always much valued by his

employer ; but if we admit his son's claim, that all that is good in the Houses of Parliament is due to his father, how does it happen that Pugin's design which he prepared in the name of Mr. Graham, and in which he was perfectly free and unfettered, was not even one of the four to which premiums were awarded, and, indeed, it was scarcely noticed at all? I am grieved to see, that in his haste to advance claims which are altogether unwarranted, Mr. E. Pugin pays so little honour to his father's memory, and places so small a value on his honour, as to inform the world that every statement made by his father to myself and others, and published by him in the public press, were utterly and deliberately untrue. I unhesitatingly reject this calumny on my old friend, and cannot sufficiently express my regret that it should have emanated from his son. I must also express my opinion, that had Mr. E. Pugin simply desired to seek justice for his father, he would not have delayed his claim so long after his death and that of Sir C. Barry ; he would also have hesitated to mix up his assertions with extravagant depreciations of the designs of some of our first architects for the New Law Courts, and would specially have avoided the display in the newspapers of his own talents, by suggesting alterations in the building for which he claims credit for his father.

“ TALBOT BURY.

“ 50 *Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square,*
“ January 4th, 1868.”

This clear and detailed statement, coming from a gentleman, who was in Mr. A. W. Pugin's confidence, and who therefore viewed the matter from an entirely different point of view, has a special value in confirmation of the evidence so abundantly given by those who watched the formation of my father's designs, or who worked in their execution. With this the case might be closed.

(V.) But, in order to leave no part of the subject untouched, it has been thought desirable, at the expenditure of considerable time and trouble, to make a detailed examination of the whole of the existing drawings. This examination has been conducted by Mr. E. M. Barry, and I subjoin his report of the results. It must not be forgotten, that *we offered*

long ago to produce these and any other documents on the subject, which might be called, if the matter had been referred to the Institute of British Architects.

(A) “*Estimate drawings*” referred to by Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Banks as those on which Mr. A. W. Pugin was employed immediately after the competition.

Mr. E. Pugin states, on p. 19 of his pamphlet, that these details contain “the full-sized drawings of the features themselves, and of each separate component part thereof with their construction and application distinctly delineated.”

This is in the first place a very inaccurate description of the drawings in question, which are such as architects usually prepare for being estimated from, showing enough of the details to guide the surveyor as to their cost, but requiring an immense amount of supplementary details and instructions, before the work can be carried out. To illustrate this, I may state that the estimate drawings appear to have been less than 200 in number; and the working drawings, from which the building was actually carried out, exceed 5000.

My father was not in the habit of inking-in his own drawings. He originated them, and drew them out in pencil, and they were then sent into his office to be inked-in, tinted, and finished. This was his custom during the whole of my experience, and Mr. Banks tells me that the estimate drawings were prepared (as it is natural to suppose they would have been) in the same way, and that Sir Charles was incessantly at work upon them, although his touch was necessarily obliterated by inking-in. The fact therefore that some of these drawings show *in their inking-in*, traces of Mr. Pugin’s hand, and others those of Mr. Banks, Mr. Wright and others, proves absolutely nothing, except that these gentlemen were my father’s assistants at the time.

Whatever these drawings were, and by whomsoever prepared is, however, altogether beside the question raised now, for they do not agree in a single particular, except as to general plan (and even this has undergone many important

alterations) with the building *as it exists*. Every portion of it has been re-designed, many parts (as we know) again and again.

(B) *Working Drawings.*

The working drawings for the Palace are in my possession, and I have carefully looked through them. They are (as I have said) more than 5000 in number, and contain designs and details of every portion of the building, even to the full-sized sections of mouldings and drawings of tracery. None of these are by Mr. Pugin, except about 70 for internal fittings of the House of Lords, and some of its offices. There is included in the above a set of details by him for the throne,* and there are also drawings for ornamental metal-work, and for the tiles for the floors generally, the arrangement of which was designed by Sir Charles, and the tiles themselves designed by Mr. Pugin. A careful examination confirms in every particular the statements made in my father's memoir respecting his assistance, and shows that with the design of the building generally Pugin had nothing to do.

Mr. E. Pugin makes a great point of his father having made a drawing for a pair of unimportant iron gates to the terrace, and demands that, if it exists, it should be produced. I have just discovered it, and it would have been produced with all the other drawings, if Mr. E. Pugin had chosen to have it so. It is simply a detail drawing of a pair of wrought-iron gates, and has, no doubt, been prepared by Pugin from a smaller drawing of my father's. Mr. E. Pugin says that this drawing will prove that other designs were supplied to Sir Charles, overlooking, as is not unusual with him, that the word "*design*" does not occur in my father's letter on the subject, which simply acknowledges the receipt of the *drawing* and his approval of it.

* There is, however, the general design for the throne as it now exists drawn out to a scale of 4 feet to an inch in Sir Charles's own hand. See frontispiece. Even the details above referred to were not carried out without modifications, and portions of the work were both modelled and executed by the late Mr. Thomas.

I may mention that these drawings have not been used for years. They are very bulky, and have been stowed away in a roof not easy of access. Some of them I have not seen for a long time, and many of them, *e.g.*, the estimate drawings, I have now (Jan. 1868) seen for the first time. Mr. Wolfe had not seen them when he compiled his statements, which they thoroughly confirm. It is strange, with Mr. E. Pugin's anxiety that his father should have his "fair share" of credit, that he should not have availed himself of our repeated offers to produce these drawings, and all other documents before a proper tribunal. I may here give the names of all my father's assistants whose work I can recognise in these drawings, and those of them who are yet alive can, I am sure, confirm all that has been said by us in this controversy. Their names are as follows: the late Mr. Thomas, Mr. Banks, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Wright, Mr. Groves, Mr. Meeson, Mr. Somers Clarke, Mr. Brakspcar, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Murray, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Clerihew, Mr. Payne, Mr. Quarm, Mr. Ruddle, Mr. Kerr, Mr Deville, Mr. Walton, and Mr. Boughton.

E. M. BARRY.

The time needed for this examination has delayed the appearance of these pages. But those who desire to understand the actual state of the evidence will hardly regret the delay. The accuracy of the report we have offered to submit to professional examination; and, if that accuracy be established, the confirmation of the statements made throughout by us is most striking.

I now conclude this examination of the question. While I still hold that the only right way of settling the question is the one which we have urged on our assailant, I yet trust that, in putting on record once for all, this statement of facts, we shall have done our duty to my father's memory. It is well, in conclusion, briefly to sum up the whole case.

First, as to *à priori* probability.—I pass by the utter violence, which such a supposition does to my father's character, as it was known to all those who had acquaintance with him, or as it paints itself in the simple facts of that life, which it has been my duty to record. I almost feel as though it were derogatory to him gravely to defend him from such an assailant as Mr. E. W. Pugin.

But there are a few leading points, which should not be passed over.

The first is this—that the competition design and the actually existing building are, in all essential features, entirely at variance with the principles of design laid down by Mr. A. W. Pugin with his characteristic decision and energy, and adopted by many Gothicists of the present day. The regularity, the symmetry, the subordination of beauty of separate features to unity of effect—all these were as distasteful to Mr. A. W. Pugin, as they were familiar and acceptable to Sir C. Barry. Yet we are asked, against all evidence, to attribute to the one a design which naturally, almost without evidence, would have been traced to the other.

The next is the well-known fact that my father was unusually anxious, and even fastidious in his anxiety, for perfection of detail. Those who have ever worked with him well remember that this fastidiousness grew upon him almost to a fault, causing frequent alterations and involving almost endless trouble. Yet we are asked to believe that he would give up to another—a man of wholly different taste from his own—an almost unlimited control over the structural details of a building which was to bear his name.

The third point is that the design for the existing building was (as a matter of fact) actually matured between 1837 and 1844, at a time when Mr. A. W. Pugin was, by the confession of all parties, altogether removed from the scene of action. The competition design was almost superseded; the estimate drawings of 1836 were laid aside, as soon as they had served their special purpose. During all this time there was a mind

at work, moulding, developing, altering the design, making itself felt in every line of the building. Whose was that mind if it was not Sir C. Barry's?

Lastly, since Mr. A. W. Pugin's death in 1852, a very large portion of the building, including the Great Towers, has been designed and completed. Nor have I ever heard that there is a different spirit reigning in the former part of the work from that which is visible in the latter. Whose (I again ask) was this guiding spirit? Mr. E. W. Pugin makes a strange pretence to meet this difficulty, by stating that he can name some "great unknown," who was a second Pugin to my father, and who must have been, if we would account for the unity of effect on this theory, literally a reproduction of the first? Is it possible that he can think to gain credit with any one by such mysterious and hazy generalities? If "the unknown" exist, why has he not been named already? But the very attempt shows that he feels the fatal force of this simple consideration, and would meet it somehow at all hazards.

But I am aware that *à priori* improbability is not a perfectly sure and tangible argument, and that it must give way, if positive evidence be brought against it. How, therefore, in the next place, stands the evidence?

I. *With regard to the competition drawings*, Mr. E. W. Pugin rests his case, first, on the evidence of Mr. Talbot Bury. That gentleman directly contradicts him. He next adduces a number of letters from various persons, not one of whom had personal knowledge of the subject; these contain nothing but second-hand assertions, to which no one who understands evidence would even listen. He then quotes from Mr. A. W. Pugin's diaries entries, some of which the very dates show to be irrelevant, while the rest are confused and inconclusive. This is absolutely the whole of his evidence.

On the other hand, I adduce first, the detailed and interesting testimony of Mr. Wolfe, from intimate personal knowledge of Sir C. Barry's whole work; next, the plain evidence

of Mr. Talbot Bury, based on an almost equally intimate knowledge of Mr. A. W. Pugin; lastly, the declarations of Mr. Pugin himself, made emphatically and decisively, and testified to by Mr. Bury, Mr. Ferrey, Mr. Richardson, the Rev. B. Webb and the Editor of the 'Builder.'

II. *With regard to Mr. A. W. Pugin's subsequent employment* by Sir C. Barry, Mr. E. Pugin first quotes entries from the diary, which, even if correct, prove nothing more than what has been always acknowledged; he next dwells on certain letters of my father's to Mr. A. W. Pugin, of which the first two merely contain a reference to the detailed work on the estimate drawings, which were generally laid aside; the third is so quoted as to produce an impression entirely at variance with the fact, and the others refer to minute details.

This is his whole evidence, eked out by reckless suppositions and inferences.

On the other hand, I first adduce the direct and repeated testimony of Mr. A. W. Pugin himself, not only in the published letter of 1845, but in private correspondence, effectually disposing of the theory, by which it is sought to explain that letter away. I next add statements from Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Charles Barry, who saw my father's earlier work on the design of the actual building, and of Mr. E. M. Barry, whose close connexion with the work relates to the portion erected since 1850. After this comes a series of letters from almost every living person who took any important share in executing the work under Sir C. Barry's direction. Next, a fresh communication from Mr. Talbot Bury, drawn from him by Mr. E. W. Pugin's attack, and supplementing the former. Lastly, a report of a detailed examination of the actual drawings, which drawings we offered to submit to the Council of the Institute of British Architects.

On the subsidiary matter of the "missing letters," of which so much is made, it has been my duty to show (in the Appendix) that it is but of secondary importance, if the state-

ment of the case be perfectly accurate, and that this statement is not based on such evidence as to establish it with any certainty.

Those who will take the trouble to examine this evidence thoroughly, must come to the conclusion that Mr. A. W. Pugin's work was simply that of an able and confidential subordinate, and that Sir Charles Barry was in all points the true architect of the great building to which he devoted his life.

It may seem to those, who can judge of the question by professional knowledge, that we have given too much notice to Mr. E. W. Pugin's attack. It is doubtless true, (as Mr. Digby Wyatt has lately said) that the stamp or "mint mark" on Sir Charles's works is too plain to be mistaken. But reputation is affected by popular judgment, and that can be based only on direct and detailed evidence. It has, therefore, been my duty to draw up this statement of facts and evidences; I leave it with all confidence to the judgment of my readers.

APPENDIX.



So much stress has been laid in the present controversy on certain letters of my father to Mr. A. W. Pugin, which are said to have been lent by Mr. E. W. Pugin to Sir C. Barry in 1860, that I feel bound to notice the subject here.

Mr. E. W. Pugin's statement is as follows (see pp. viii.-x. of his pamphlet):—

(a) That at an interview in February, 1860, Sir C. Barry was informed that these letters were in Mr. E. W. Pugin's hands, and that, on hearing this, he betrayed "confusion and distress ;"

(b) That he stated that all Mr. A. W. Pugin's letters to him had been destroyed ;

(c) That he requested the loan of these letters for perusal, and that he afterwards broke the promise, which he then made, of returning them.

Now it is clear that, if this statement were true and accurate in every point, it could but be of secondary importance in the present controversy. It has been forced into a prominent position, and skilfully worked up into a factitious importance, because it excites odium against my father's memory and attracts the attention of those, who have not patience to examine the whole facts of the case.

It will be my object, first to reduce the question to its true importance, examining Mr. E. W. Pugin's statements on his own showing, and assuming, for the sake of argument, that they are correct. I must then point out the insufficient nature of the testimony, on which these statements rest. I take them *seriatim*.

What is to be argued from the uneasiness which Sir Charles is said to have shown ?

That he would be unwilling to see published by any one

his private letters to a confidential friend and assistant written with perfect unreserve, full of allusions to living persons, and to controversies still pending, may easily be conceived. It is obvious moreover, by Mr. E. W. Pugin's own account, that he approached the interview in a hostile spirit, and Sir Charles must have been aware, that, if such letters existed, they would probably be used somewhat recklessly, if not unfairly. That he may therefore have felt an uneasiness, which can be represented as "confusion and distress" is probable enough. But it is a gratuitous assumption to infer that this uneasiness had the particular cause which Mr. E. W. Pugin assigns to it, and to suppose that these letters contained matter which is not found in the letters actually preserved, on the part of Sir C. Barry and of Mr. A. Pugin—nay, which is in all essential points utterly at variance with the relations there disclosed.

Secondly, What is to be inferred from the statement attributed to Sir Charles, that he had destroyed all Mr. A. W. Pugin's letters to him? This was simply in accordance with his almost universal practice—a practice which has caused us great difficulty in the preparation of his biography. All the numerous letters, which he received from eminent persons at home and abroad, have perished, with but very few exceptions. Of Mr. A. W. Pugin's letters we have found comparatively few, and even these were stored away among many miscellaneous papers, and apparently forgotten. The inference that any letters bearing upon the present controversy had been destroyed, because they contained matter dangerous to Sir C. Barry's fame, is again wholly gratuitous.

Lastly, What may be inferred from the course which Sir Charles Barry is said to have adopted? The slur, which the imputation throws upon his character, is serious enough, although Mr. E. W. Pugin seems to think that we ought to take it with perfect unconcern. But in relation to the controversy, it can but be considered, at most, as exciting a certain amount of suspicion. Decisive on the subject it can never be. Mr. E. W. Pugin has now (it appears) a large

number of letters. Is it possible that they will not contain enough to prove his case, if that case be true? The positive testimony adduced from Mr. A. W. Pugin's own letters and statements, strengthened by such evidence as that of Mr. Wolfe on the one side, and of Mr. Talbot Bury on the other, cannot be shaken by vague inferences of what certain missing letters may be supposed to have contained.

Taking therefore the case on Mr. E. W. Pugin's own showing, it has this amount of weight, and this only.

But I feel myself compelled to remark on the testimony by which the whole charge is sustained; and I think I am justified in so doing by the fact that it was never brought forward till after my father's death, when direct counter evidence became impossible. Mr. E. W. Pugin must remember that he opened this controversy by an imputation of falsehood against my father. I believe that those who read it will consider that he has been treated on the whole with great forbearance. But, on such a subject as this, I am forced to call attention to points which must strike any impartial examiner of the evidence.

The whole statement rests solely on the evidence of Mr. E. W. Pugin himself.

Now, in the first place, it seems not a little strange, that he should have waited for eight years after his father's death (during which time, it would appear, he was indignant at Sir C. Barry's treatment of himself and his family), before he put forward his statements at all. It is also strange that, when he put into Sir Charles's hands, as he states, seventy-six letters, he should have silently retained many other letters, of which he declines to specify the number or to give copies, but of which he has already published thirty-nine. Nor has any account been as yet given why the accusation now made was not made in the period (about three months) intervening between the alleged interview and Sir C. Barry's death, or for more than seven years after that event. It is also clear that there is a difficulty in establishing a sufficient motive to induce Sir Charles to take such a course as the one imputed to him.

The 'Pall Mall Gazette,' a journal usually well informed in such matters, asserts that in such letters there was a joint ownership. But it is not questioned by any one that an injunction might have been obtained to prevent the publication of the letters in question. It would have been a simple thing either to claim the custody, or to prohibit the publication.

On our part, after diligent search and careful enquiry, we can find no trace of the letters referred to, nor can we discover that any one, even of those who were in the most confidential relations with Sir Charles, ever saw them in his hands, or ever heard him speak of them.

It is impossible, on principles of common fairness, to accept a charge so serious, as established under such circumstances against one who can no longer defend himself. Mr. E. W. Pugin has assumed, without any ground, that we accept his statement, and that we defend an admitted breach of faith. We have remarked on his statements without admitting them, for it is useful to estimate their value on his own showing. But I think I may be excused if I decline to accept them as proved, especially when the examination of Mr. E. W. Pugin's statements has shown in him such singular inaccuracy, both of remembrance and quotation.

It is a matter of no great consequence whether we have been right or wrong in our way of dealing with Mr. E. W. Pugin in this matter. But here also there has been a sufficient amount of misrepresentation.

It is asked, why we did not at once say, whether these letters were or were not forthcoming. At the beginning of the controversy, before we had experience of the style in which it was to be carried on, my brother Mr. E. M. Barry pretty clearly intimated that they were not to be found. He says in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of Aug. 22nd, 1867—"My father habitually destroyed all private letters addressed to him, and in seeking materials for his biography we have had occasion to regret the dearth of materials caused by this custom." But, as the correspondence proceeded, it was

thought (wisely or unwisely) that we ought to be more guarded on the subject. *We have never implied that we had the letters* ;* but we did not let our antagonist know whether we had them or not, till we had tried to obtain from him a distinct statement of the time and place of the alleged interview. As soon as he applied directly to us, we immediately offered all information, provided he would give us the means of identifying such letters, if they could be found. On partially obtaining this, we at once made diligent search, and gave explicit information of its results, including the discovery of the letters of Mr. A. W. Pugin, referred to on pp. 52-58, of the existence of which we were entirely ignorant. I subjoin all the important letters of the correspondence, of which Mr. E. W. Pugin has printed one. It might or might not have been better to have acted without waiting for a formal demand: but this has little bearing on the real matter at issue.

15, Bedford Row, London, W.C., Oct. 8, 1867.

SIR,—I wrote by the direction of Mr. E. W. Pugin, on the 1st inst., to the Rev. Alfred Barry, requesting him to deliver to me on Mr. Pugin's behalf the letters which he had lent to the late Sir Charles Barry; and on the other side I send you copy of a letter which I have received from the Rev. Alfred Barry in reply. I now, therefore, have to request you to deliver to me the letters in question. To save you trouble I will, on your making an appointment for that purpose, attend at any time and place you may name to receive the letters and give you a discharge for them as Mr. Pugin's solicitor. Requesting an early reply,

I am your obedient servant,

G. J. DURRANT.

E. M. BARRY, Esq., 21, Abingdon Street, S.W.

* Mr. E. W. Pugin says that we have done so, but he would be troubled to quote any words of ours which can prove his assertion.

(COPY.)

Park House, Cheltenham, Oct. 4, 1867.

SIR,—I have just found your letter (of the 1st) awaiting me on my return home. I beg to say in reply that I am not one of my father's executors, and that all his papers are in their hands.

My brother (Mr. E. M. Barry) is the proper person to whom to apply, and he will, I doubt not, give due answer to the application either directly or through his solicitors.

I presume you have been misled by my published letter stating that my father's diaries and official letters* are in my hands.

Your obedient servant,

ALFRED BARRY.

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Oct. 15, 1867.

SIR,—Mr. E. M. Barry has been away from town, and has only just received your letter of the 8th inst., asking on Mr. Pugin's behalf for delivery up of certain letters.

Mr. E. M. Barry has forwarded me your letter as solicitor to the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry. That gentleman has now been dead upwards of seven years, and his executors are his two sons, Mr. Charles Barry and Mr. Edward Middleton Barry, his nephew Mr. William Henry Barry, and my partner, his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Grueber.

I should feel obliged by your informing me for their guidance when and where your client lent the letters, he alleges to have lent to Sir Charles Barry; what those letters were; by whom they were written; and how they came into your client's possession?

Directly I receive this information, I will see my clients and communicate with you.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES COOPER.

G. J. DURRANT, Esq., Bedford Row.

* In the original letter the words were "diaries, &c."

15, Bedford Row, London, W.C., Oct. 17, 1867.

SIR,—I have this morning seen my client on the subject of your letter to me of the 15th inst.

The letters which he requires the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry to deliver up are seventy-six letters written and sent by him to the late Mr. A. W. Pugin, and which letters my client lent to Sir Charles Barry, as matter of courtesy to him and at his particular request, in order that he might gratify a wish he had to read them over.

Sir Charles Barry promised to return the letters to my client immediately after he should have perused them.

If your clients, under these circumstances, are disposed to take the extraordinary and ungracious course of now disputing my client's title to the letters in question (as you seem to intimate) that point must be discussed before a legal tribunal, to which Mr. Pugin will not hesitate to refer it.

I have no further remark to make, but I beg to reiterate my demand for the letters, and to require your clients' immediate compliance therewith.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,

G. J. DURRANT.

JAMES COOPER, Esq., 5, Billiter Street, E.C.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Oct. 24, 1867.

SIR,—In your note of the 17th inst. you do not answer two of my questions, namely, when and where the interview of your client with Sir Charles Barry took place; and further how the letters alleged to have been lent came into your client's possession.

As regards the last point, I infer from your silence that Mr. Pugin has some difficulty in replying to my question, and I am therefore instructed to waive it for the present, if he is unable or unwilling to answer it, as my clients have no wish to encumber the question with technicalities. As, however, the loan is alleged to have been made so many years ago, and the only evidence respecting it consists of the statement of your client. I must again ask for the date and place of the interview at which he states he "lent" to Sir Charles Barry the letters written by himself.

On receipt of a plain answer to this question my clients will at once reply to your application, and give you every information in their power; and as they have never had (and consequently never intimated to you) any other intention, they feel they have a right to complain of the tone of your letter, and your application of epithets by anticipation to a course which has not been adopted.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES COOPER.

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Oct. 24, 1867.

SIR,—The executors of the late Sir Charles Barry have heard that your client Mr. E. Welby Pugin is about to issue a pamphlet respecting the New Palace at Westminster, in which he intends to publish certain letters of the late Sir Charles Barry, without having first obtained permission to do so from his executors.

I have therefore to require on their behalf that an opportunity be afforded them at once, and before the pamphlet is published, of examining the original letters, and, if they think fit, of taking copies of the same. I must require an answer to this letter by this day week, and shall be ready to make an appointment with you for the purpose above described at any time convenient to yourself.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

JAMES COOPER.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Oct. 24, 1867.

GENTLEMEN,—As solicitors to the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry it is my duty to inform you, that having heard that you are about to publish a pamphlet by Mr. E. W. Pugin respecting the New Palace at Westminster, in which it is intended to print certain private letters of the late Sir Charles Barry, that the permission of his executors has not been asked or obtained for this purpose.

Sir Charles Barry's executors have no wish to hinder in the slightest degree the publication of the pamphlet; but I have to require on their behalf that an opportunity be afforded to them at once, and before the pamphlet is published, of examining the original letters, and if they think fit of taking copies of the same, and I have to require an answer to this request by this day week.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

MESSRS. LONGMANS.

JAMES COOPER.

15, Bedford Row, London, W.C., Oct. 31, 1867.

SIR,—I am instructed by Mr. Pugin to state that the letters came into his possession at his father's death, and that they were lent to Sir Charles Barry, not given.

The day they were lent was the 3rd February, 1860. You appear to lay some stress upon the word "lent." What other evidence can I offer under the circumstances that they were *lent* and not *given*, than Mr. Pugin's solemn asseveration? He will give a *statutory declaration* to that effect if desired, as he is willing to reiterate his statement on *oath* if necessary; but in my view, this would add nothing to the value of a statement made by a gentleman of such unquestionable veracity as Mr. Pugin.

I am gratified to find that your clients abhor technicalities, I can assure you that Mr. Pugin does so also.

My last letter was written under some irritation at the idea that Mr. Pugin's statement of the circumstances of the case was apparently doubted.

Hoping that the matter will now be gracefully closed by your clients returning the letters,

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

JAS. COOPER, Esq.

G. J. DURRANT.

P.S.—In reply to your second letter, I am instructed by Mr. Pugin to say that he declines to enter into any further controversy until the present one has been disposed of.

G. J. D.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Nov. 5, 1867.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 31st October, and am glad to notice an absence of the tone of which I was obliged to complain in my last.

My clients have been always ready to give Mr. Pugin any information in their power if any proper application had been made to them for it.

Your letter informs me of the date on which the loan of letters is said to have taken place, but it does not name the place of the interview, nor does it state whether the letters had been left to your client by his father.

Waiving, however, all further reference to these points, the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry desire me to inform you that they have never seen the letters your client describes; they have never heard of them and know nothing about them, although two of their number are sons of Sir Charles Barry, and they never heard him speak of any such letters. A renewed search has been made among Sir Charles Barry's papers since your first letter to me, but no letters to the late Mr. Pugin have been found, and the only evidence on the subject before the executors consists of the statement of your client. If it had been otherwise, the executors would have readily complied with your client's request, as they are convinced that the more the relations between Sir Charles Barry and Mr. Pugin are examined, the more they will be found to redound to the fame and honour of both these distinguished men.

As regards my application for an opportunity of inspecting the letters of the late Sir Charles Barry in your client's possession, the executors feel that it should be no matter of controversy, but that it ought at once to be granted. Mr. E. Pugin has quoted publicly from these letters which my clients have never seen, with the avowed object of injuring Sir Charles Barry's reputation, but he has not published a single entire letter. It is therefore only fair and reasonable that my clients should have an opportunity of inspecting these letters and comparing Mr. Pugin's quotations with their context and with each other. I must therefore press for an immediate and definite answer to my application on this subject.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

JAMES COOPER.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Nov. 15, 1867.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to call your attention to my letter to you of the 24th ult., with reference to a publication of a pamphlet by Mr. E. W. Pugin, respecting the New Palace at Westminster. I have to inform you that I have failed in getting any satisfactory reply to a similar application addressed to Mr. Pugin's solicitor. My clients, the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry, desire to repeat that they have no wish to hinder in the slightest degree the publication of the pamphlet, and they are convinced that any *bonâ fide* description of the relation that existed between Sir Charles and the late Mr. Pugin will only redound to the honour of both.

They cannot, however, consent to the partial publication of letters, professed to have been written by Sir Charles Barry, but of which they have not any knowledge and have not had any opportunity of seeing.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

MESSRS. LONGMANS, Paternoster Row.

JAMES COOPER.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Nov. 15, 1867.

SIR,—I am surprised at seeing a letter from Mr. E. W. Pugin in the 'Times' of to-day, stating that his pamphlet relating to the New Palace at Westminster was yesterday published by Messrs. Longmans. I have to call your attention to my letter of the 24th ult., stating that Mr. Pugin had never received the permission of the executors of Sir Charles Barry to the publication of any letters written by that gentleman, and asking to see them before they were published.

I find the pamphlet is not yet published, and although my clients do not object to any *bonâ fide* publication of letters that passed between the late Sir Charles Barry and the late Mr. Pugin, they do object to any partial publication of letters professed to have been written by Sir Charles Barry, of which they have not any knowledge, and have not had any opportunity of seeing.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

JAMES COOPER.

15, Bedford Row, London, W.C., Nov. 18, 1867.

SIR,—I am instructed by Mr. Pugin to acquaint you that the executors of the late Sir Charles Barry, may either by themselves, or by you as their solicitor, inspect the letters in Mr. Pugin's possession, written by Sir Charles Barry, any day this week at "The Grange," Ramsgate.

Yours obediently,

G. J. DURRANT.

JAMES COOPER, Esq.

5, Billiter Street, E.C., Nov. 20, 1867.

DEAR SIRs,—I yesterday received a letter from Mr. Pugin's solicitor, offering to produce the letters of the late Sir Charles Barry to my clients or me at Ramsgate; to this I have replied, requesting to see them in London.

My clients have not yet had any opportunity of seeing the letters or of taking copies of them, and until they have done so they object, as they have a perfect legal right to do, to the publication of any pamphlet containing copies of letters from the late Sir Charles Barry, and I am quite sure that from the high character of your house, you will feel the impropriety of publishing it as long as their reasonable demand is not complied with.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES COOPER.

MESSRS. LONGMANS.

15, Bedford Row, London, W.C., Nov. 22, 1867.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Pugin desires me to say (in a communication received from him this morning) that the letters can be "seen at the Grange, Ramsgate, and nowhere else," also that he "will not allow any longer the Messrs. Barry to impede the publication of his pamphlet, and that it will be issued on Monday next."

Mr. Pugin dates his letter from Ramsgate, and adds he will not be in town till Monday next.

I will write him, however, by to night's post, with the purport of our interview last evening.

Yours truly,

G. J. DURRANT.

JAMES COOPER, Esq.

15, Bedford Row, London, Nov. 26, 1867.

DEAR SIR,*—My client writes me that he sees no necessity to reply to your statement which I conveyed to my client by the letter I read over to you on Saturday last. I have received certain letters (40 in number) from Mr. Pugin, and they are now being copied, and the copies shall be sent you as soon as possible, and you can compare them with the originals whenever convenient to yourself.

I am, yours truly,

J. COOPER, Esq.

G. J. DURRANT.

5, Billiter Street, Nov. 27, 1867.

Sir Charles Barry's Executors and Pugin.

DEAR SIR,—Am I clearly to understand that the copy of the letters you are having made for me is a copy of *all* letters written by the late Sir Charles Barry to the late Mr. Pugin in your client's possession?

Yours truly,

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

JAMES COOPER.

15, Bedford Row, London, Nov. 30, 1867.

Pugin and Barry's Executors.

DEAR SIR,—I send you on the other side copy letter from Mr. Pugin, which will speak for itself.

Yours truly,

JAMES COOPER, Esq.

G. J. DURRANT.

* "1867, 23rd Nov.—I called on Mr. Durrant, and informed him that the "executors of the late Sir Charles Barry had recently, in their search for the "letters enquired after by Mr. Edward Welby Pugin, found several letters of "his late father bearing materially on the controversy, and that they would "have much pleasure in giving him copies of them, and producing the originals to him, but of course upon the understanding that his client gave them "copies of all the letters of the late Sir Charles Barry in his possession, and "produced the originals in London. Mr. Durrant said this was what was "right, as it could only be the wish of the parties to arrive at the truth, and "that to prevent any misunderstanding he would, in my presence, write to "Mr. Pugin and inform him of my offer, and read me his letter, which he "accordingly did.

J. COOPER."

" Ramsgate, Nov. 29, 1867.

" MY DEAR SIR,—The letters I have sent you are simply those
" from which I have quoted in my pamphlet. I am not bound,
" nor do I intend, to make any answer as to what other corre-
" spondence I may have of Sir Charles Barry.

" Yours very faithfully,

" E. W. PUGIN.

" G. DURRANT, Esq."

15, Bedford Row, London, Dec. 5, 1867.

Barry's Executors and Pugin.

DEAR SIR,—I have unfortunately kept no copy of the charges I delivered to you for the correspondence. I, therefore, have received 7*l.* 10*s.* from your clerk,* and now send you the copies. If I have taken too much I will remit the difference, but if less than the account delivered, you no doubt will make it right.

Yours truly,

G. J. DURRANT.

JAMES COOPER, Esq.

5, Billiter Street, Dec. 6, 1867.

Sir Charles Barry's Executors and Pugin.

DEAR SIR,—Now that I have copies of such of the letters of the late Sir Charles Barry as Mr. Pugin says are referred to in his pamphlet, my clients do not raise any further objection to the publication of such *letters*. This assent to the publication of those letters must not in any way bind my clients with respect to a pamphlet they have never seen, and with respect to which they reserve to themselves perfect freedom of action.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES COOPER.

G. J. DURRANT, Esq.

* Mr. Pugin insisted that we should pay for the copies of the letters, and to this demand we made no objection.

15, Bedford Row, London, Dec. 10, 1867.

Pugin and Barry.

DEAR SIR,—By consent of Mr. Pugin, and at your desire, I send you by book-post a copy of the pamphlet for your clients.

Yours truly,

JAMES COOPER, Esq.

G. J. DURRANT.

5, Billiter Street, Dec. 11, 1867.

DEAR SIRS,—I send you copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. Pugin's solicitor last Friday. Sir Charles Barry's executors having had an opportunity of seeing the letters contained in Mr. Pugin's pamphlet do not offer any opposition to its publication.

I am, dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

Messrs. LONGMANS.

JAMES COOPER.

ADDENDUM.

MR. E. W. PUGIN tells us that his father had nothing to do with the Houses of Parliament, and indeed would have no communication with Sir Charles Barry, in the years from 1836 to 1844. Mr. Wolfe states, on p. 61, that the third and final design, as now executed, was made *at this time*, and its most important features determined in 1838. In confirmation of this statement, I subjoin the following entries in my father's diary for 1838 :—

1838.

Jan. 2 to 5	At design in detail of part of River front.
— 6	At detailed elevations.
Feb. 5	At design of Great Tower.
— 7 and 8	At design for Great Tower and bays of River front.
— 9 and 10	At design for Land fronts and Clock Tower.
April 21	At enlarged drawing of one bay of River front.
— 25	Considering proposed improvement in design.
— 27, 28, 29, 30 ..	At study of River front.
May 1	do. do.
— 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10	At River front drawings.
— 14, 16, 17, 18 ..	At design for River front.
— 19	{ At new House of Commons, &c., and design for River front.
— 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 ..	
June 1 and 2	{ At general drawing of River front, with all improvements.
— 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 25, 26, 27, 30	
July 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 ..	do. do.
— 10	At design for River front. (Completed.)
— 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30	{ On general plans.
Aug. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15	
Oct. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 ..	At details of River front.
— 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31	{ At drawings of River front.
Nov. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24	
Dec. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14	{ At drawings central portion of River front.
— 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31 ..	
	{ At drawings of River front.

